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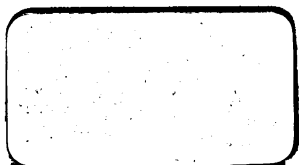
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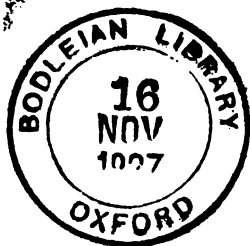
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## CARTHAGE.

**THE** following notice, containing matter which could not conveniently be brought into the Notes, may be found useful.

1. *Its situation.* From the Pillars of Hercules, the north coast of Africa runs eastward to a point nearly due south of Florence; it then turns abruptly to the south. Just before it takes this turn there is a deep bay, formed by the easternmost promontory (*Cape Bon*), and another (*Cape Farina*) more westward. Carthage stood nearly midway in the bend of this bay, on a headland forming the northern side of an inner and smaller bay, now known as the Bay of Tunis.

2. *Foundation.* The legend of the foundation of Carthage is well known in its main points from Virgil. The introduction of *Æneas* is, of course, due to him, and has no foundation in the original legend.

It is not doubted that Carthage owed its origin to Phœnician Tyre, about seventy years, as it is supposed, before the foundation of Rome. It is probable that, established at a period of great commercial enterprize and prosperity, it was at first only an emporium or factory, but from its advantageous position, and the influx of inhabitants from

other colonies, especially from Utica, (likewise a Phœnician settlement, though of nearly three hundred years earlier date,) it gradually rose into sovereign importance, extending its dominion from the Pillars of Hercules almost as far as the great Syrtis.

**3. History.** The history of Carthage occupies three periods:—

i. From the foundation to B.C. 410, which is the period of the great development of her power.

ii. From B.C. 410 to the commencement of her wars with Rome, B.C. 264.

iii. The period of her decline and fall, B.C. 264 to B.C. 146.

Of the first two of these periods it is beyond the purpose of this sketch to speak fully. It is enough to say that, partly from her superior situation, and partly, perhaps, from her being the latest and the favourite offspring of the mother state, partly from the shocks which the old Tyre received from the Assyrian and Babylonian conquests, her importance became greatly and soon developed, until her supremacy was established, not only over the surrounding peoples, but over the older Phœnician colonies in Africa, —Tunis, Hippo, Hadrumetum, and even Utica.

At the commencement of the third period, the period of the Punic wars, B.C. 264, and of her decline and fall, the power and resources of Cathage were very great.

In Africa she had absolute dominion over the Libyan, of comparatively settled peoples of the provinces of Zeugitana and Byzacium, from Hippo Regius on the west, to the lake

Triton on the south. The nomad tribes on the east, south, and west, from the Pillars of Hercules to the borders of Cyrene, furnished her abundantly with mercenary soldiers, especially with the splendid irregular cavalry so famous in Hannibal's wars, and were her channels of wealth from the countries bordering on the Niger and the Nile. Her colonies, too, extended all along the coast from Cyrenaica westward; and these, besides their commercial importance, formed so many points of command over the nomad tribes, contributed regularly to the revenue of the mother city, and bore the chief expense of her wars. Out of Africa, Carthage possessed numerous dependencies, or provinces. *Sardinia*, which belonged to her as early as the year B.C. 509; *Corsica*, which was also early occupied; *Sicily*—the western half—which might be marked by a straight line drawn from Himera to Agrigentum; the Balearic islands, Malta and others less important, and the coast of Spain from Gibraltar to Carthage.

4. *Population.* The population of the empire was composed chiefly of three classes:—(i.) The Carthaginians themselves; (ii.) A mixed population of Liby-phœnicians, who occupied and cultivated the soil in the vicinity of the city and colonial towns; (iii.) Native Libyan tribes, partly settled, (whose condition was little better than that of slaves), partly nomad. Of these last mention has already been made. Carthage itself, after all the drain of the war, is said to have contained, a little before its fall, 700,000 people.

5. *Government.* We have very little information re-

specting the constitution of Carthage. The chief magistrates were two suffetes, or kings, who seem to have been elected annually out of some few principal families: these also furnished a senate of three hundred members, and these again a smaller council of thirty *principes*. Livy, after the second Punic war, speaks of an assembly of one hundred judges, who held office for life, and were powerful enough to overrule all the other assemblies and magistracies of the state. Hannibal passed a law which checked the power of these judges, causing them to be elected for only one year.

## CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES.

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THE following *data* will be sufficient to shew the progress of the Roman dominion between the first and second Punic wars.

B.C.

241. *Coss.* A. Manlius Torquatus Atticus II., Q. Lutatius Cerco.

Conclusion of the first Punic war, on the victory of Lutatius Catulus at the Ægates Insulæ.

[Terms of peace agreed upon between Hamilcar and Catulus.

1. Evacuation of Sicily by Carthage. (This was considered insufficient by the Roman commissioners, who insisted further on the cession of all the islands between Italy and Sicily).

2. Restoration, without ransom, of all the Roman prisoners.

3. Payment by instalments, within twenty years, of 2,200 Euboic talents. (This also was disapproved, and changed to 3,200, to be paid within ten years).

The chief result of this war was the acquisition of the first Roman Province—Sicily.]

In Italy, Falerii revolts, and is reduced in six days, and destroyed.

240. *Coss.* C. Claudius Centho, M. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Spolegium (B. xxii. 9) colonized.

239. *Coss.* C. Mamilius Turrinus, Q. Valerius Falto.

B.C.

238. *Coss.* Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, P. Valerius Falto.

Boian and Ligurian war, (end of the Carthaginian war with the mercenaries). Carthage obliged to surrender Sardinia and Corsica, (B. xxi. 1). Hamilcar goes into Spain.

237. *Coss.* L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus, Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Boian and Ligurian war continued.

236. *Coss.* P. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus, C. Licinius Varus.

Irruption of Transalpine Gauls into Italy at the invitation of the Boii: in consequence of dissensions with the Boii, they return home.

War with the Ligurians continued, and Corsicans.

235. *Coss.* T. Manlius Torquatus, C. Atilius Bulbus II.

Sardinians rebel at the instigation of the Carthaginians, but are subdued, (xxi. 16, note).

234. *Coss.* L. Postumius Albinus, Sp. Carvilius Maximus.

War with the Ligurians, Corsicans and Sardinians.

233. *Coss.* Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, M. Pomponius Matho.

Ligurian and Sardinian war.

232. *Coss.* M. Æmilius Lepidus, M. Publicius Malleolus.

The two consuls carry on the war in Sardinia. *Agrarian Law* of the tribune C. *Flaminius*, (xxi. 63, note).

231. *Coss.* M'. Pomponius Matho, C. Papirius Maso.  
Sardinians and Corsicans subdued.

B.C.

230. *Coss.* M. Æmilius Barbula, M. Junius Pera, (B. xxii, 57; xxiii. 14).

Ligurian war.

229. *Coss.* L. Postumius Albinus II., (see B. xxii. 35, and xxiii. 24,) Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

First Illyrian war. Illyrians subdued, (see B. xxi. 16, note).

(Death of Hamilcar in Spain; see note, B. xxi. ch. 2).

Hasdrubal succeeds him in the command.

228. *Coss.* Sp. Carvilius Maximus II., Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus II.

Postumius, the proconsul, makes peace with Teuta, queen of the Illyrians. First Roman embassy to Greece. *Hasdrubal* makes a treaty with the Romans, (see B. xxi. ch. 2, note).

227. *Coss.* P. Valerius Flaccus, M. Atilius Regulus.

Number of prætors increased from two to four.

226. *Coss.* M. Valerius Messala, L. Apustius Fullo.

225. *Coss.* L. Æmilius Papus, C. Atilius Regulus.

Sardinian insurrection—quelled by Atilius. Combination of Transalpine and Cisalpine Gauls: they are defeated by the Consul Æmilius. Atilius slain in the battle.

Q. Fabius Pictor, the historian, who was cotemporary with L. Cincius Alimentus, (see note, B. xxi. 38,) served in this war.

224. *Coss.* T. Manlius Torquatus II., Q. Fulvius Flaccus I.

Second year of the Gallic war. The Boii submit.



## B.C.

223. *Coss.* C. Flaminius, P. Furius Philus.

Third year of Gallic war. Flaminius defeats the Insubrian Gauls, (see note, B. xxi. ch. 63).

222. *Coss.* Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus, M. Claudius Marcellus.

Fourth and last year of Gallic war. Marcellus wins the *spolia opima*, (see note, B. xxi. 25).

221. *Coss.* P. Corn. Scipio Asina, M. Minucius Rufus.

Istrians subdued, (see note, B. xxi. ch. 16).

Hannibal succeeds Hasdrubal in Spain, (B. xxi. ch. 3).

220 *Coss.* L. Veterius Philo, C. Lutatius Catulus.

Flaminius makes the Via Flaminia and the Circus Flaminius. Census taken—the numbers of the citizens are 270,218.

219. *Coss.* M. Livius Salinator, L. Æmilius Paullus.

Second Illyrian war, against Demetrius of Pharos, who is conquered by the Consul Æmilius.

Siege and capture of *Saguntum*.

218. First Punic war.

## SUMMARY.

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**SECOND Punic War.** Causes which contributed to its importance. Anticipation of it evinced in the policy of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal in Spain. Debate at Carthage upon Hasdrubal's inviting Hannibal to join him. Ineffectual opposition of Hanno. Death of Hasdrubal. Election of Hannibal to command-in-chief by the soldiers. His character. Measures to bring on a war with Rome. Lays siege to Saguntum. Saguntine embassy to Rome. Romans send ambassadors to Hannibal and to Carthage. Capture of Saguntum.

Rome thoroughly alarmed. Preparations for war. Second embassy to Carthage. Declaration of war. Disposition of the Spanish and Gaulish tribes to Rome. Massilians only favourable.

Hannibal assembles his forces in the spring of B.C. 218. His dispositions for security of Spain and Africa. March from Carthago Nova. Crosses the Ebro and Pyrenees. Conciliates the Gauls at Ruscino.

[Rebellion of the Boii in Italy. Defeat of Manlius by them.] Crosses the Rhone.

[Cavalry skirmish with some of the horse of Scipio, who had arrived at the mouths of the Rhone on his way to Spain, and had sent some of his cavalry to reconnoitre.]

Arrives amongst the Allobroges. Reaches the first ascents of the Alps. Crosses the Alps. Arrives in Italy amongst

the Taurini. After a few days' rest advances eastwards. Comes in sight of Scipio at the

[Scipio, after the cavalry skirmish, finding that he could not overtake Hannibal, had hastened back in the hope of meeting him as he descended from the Alps. He now crosses the Po, and advances westward to encounter Hannibal.]

Ticinus. Speeches of both commanders. Battle of Ticinus. Scipio wounded. Falls back under cover of night across the Ticinus, and across the Po. Loses 2,200 Gallic auxiliaries by desertion. Falls back upon the Trebia and the hills.

[Affairs in Spain under conduct of Cnæus Scipio. Defeat of Hanno. The country north of the Ebro is again reduced to subjection.]

[Affairs in Sicily and the islands: Sempronius recalled to support his colleague against Hannibal.]

Joined by Sempronius. Battle of Trebia. Hannibal repulsed at Emporium. Gaius Clastidium and Victumviæ. Tries to cross the Apennines, but fails. Engages Sempronius again indecisively. Finally winters among the Ligures. Prodigies at Rome. Servilius and Flaminius elected consuls for ensuing year. Disregard of ceremonies by the latter. His disfavour with the senate.

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HANNIBAL per continuas vigilias in paludibus oculo amisso venit in Etruriam: per quas paludes quadriduo et tribus noctibus sine ulla requie iter fecit. C. Flaminius consul, vir temerarius, contra auspicia profectus, signis militaribus effossis quæ tolli non poterant, et ab equo quem conscenderat per caput devolutus, insidiis ab Hannibale circumventus ad Trasumennum lacum cum exercitu cæsus est. Sex millia, quæ eruperant, fide a Maharbale data perfidia Hannibalis vincla sunt. Quum ad nuntium cladis Romæ luctus esset, duæ matres ex insperato receptis filiis gaudio mortuæ sunt. Ob hanc cladem ex Sibyllinis libris ver sacrum votum. Quum deinde Q. Fabius Maximus dictator adversus Hannibalem

missus nollet acie cum eo configere, ne contra ferocem tot victoriis hostem territum adversis prœliis militem pugnae committeret, et opponendo se tantum conatus Hannibalis impediret, M. Minucius magister equitum, ferox et temerarius, criminando dictatorem tanquam segnem et timidum effecit, ut populi jussu æquaretur ei cum dictatore imperium: divisoque exercitu quum iniquo loco conflisset et in magno discrimine legiones ejus essent, superveniente cum exercitu Fabio Maximo discrimine liberatus est. Quo beneficio victus castra cum eo conjunxit et patrem eum salutavit, idemque facere milites jussit. Hannibal vastata Campania inter Casilinum oppidum et Calliculam montem a Fabio clausus sarmentis ad cornua bouum adligatis et incensis præsidium Romanorum, quod Calliculam insidebat, fugavit et sic transgressus est saltum. Idemque Q. Fabii Maximi dictatoris, quum circumposita ureret, agro pepercit, ut illum tanquam proditorem suspectum faceret. Æmilio deinde Paulo et Terentio Varrone consulibus et ducibus cum magna clade adversus Hannibalem ad Cannas pugnatum est, cæsaque eo prælio Romanorum quadraginta quinque millia cum Paulo consule et senatoribus octoginta et consularibus atque prætoribus et ædilibus triginta. Post quam cladem quum a nobilibus adolescentibus propter desperationem consilium de relinquenda Italia iniretur, P. Cornelius Scipio tribunus militum, qui Africanus post ea nominatus est, stricto super capita deliberantium ferro juravit pro hoste eum se habiturum qui in verba sua non jurasset, effecitque ut omnes non relictum iri ab se Italiam jure jurando adstringerentur. Præter ea trepidationem urbis et luctum et res in Hispania meliori eventu gestas continet. Opimia et Floronia Vestales virgines incesti damnatæ sunt. Propter paucitatem militum servorum octo millia armata sunt: captivi, quum potestas esset redimendi, redempti non sunt. Varroni obviam itum et gratiæ actæ, quod de re publica non desperasset.

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CAMPANI ad Hannibalem defecerunt. Nuntius Canensis victoriæ Mago Carthaginem missus annulos aureos corporibus occisorum Romanorum detractos in vestibulo curiæ effudit, quos excessisse modii mensuram traditur. Post quem nuntium Hanno, vir ex Pœnis nobilibus, suadebat senatui Carthaginiensium ut pacem a populo

Romano peterent, nec tenuit obstrepente Barcina factione. Claudius Marcellus prætor ad Nolam eruptione adversus Hannibalem ex oppido facta prospere pugnavit. Casilinum a Pœnis obsessum ita fame vexatum est, ut lora et pelles scutis detractas item mures inclusi essent: nucibus per Vulturum amnem a Romanis missis vixerunt. Senatus ex equestri ordine hominibus centum nonaginta septem suppletus est. L. Postumius prætor a Gallis cum exercitu cæsus est. Cn. et P. Scipiones in Hispania Hasdrubalem vicerunt et Hispaniam suam fecerunt. Reliquiæ Carmentis exercitus in Siciliam relegatæ sunt, ne decederent inde nisi finito bello. Inter Philippum Macedoniæ regem et Hannibalem societas juncta est. Sempronius Gracchus consul Campanos cecidit. Claudius Marcellus prætor Hannibalis exercitum ad Nolam prælio fudit et vicit, primusque tot cladibus fessis Romanis meliorem spem belli dedit. Præter ea in Sardinia feliciter a T. Manlio prætore adversus Pœnos Sardosque res gestas continet: a quo Hasdrubal dux et Mago et Hanno capti. Exercitus Hannibalis per hiberna Capuæ ita luxuriatus est, ut corporis animique viribus enervaretur.

## LIB. XXIV.

HIERONYMUS Syracusanorum rex, cujus avus Hiero amicus populi Romani fuerat, ad Carthaginienses defecit, et propter crudelitatem superbiamque a suis interfectus est. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus proconsul prospere adversus Pœnos et Hannonem ducem ad Beneventum pugnavit servorum maxime opera, quos liberos esse jussit. Claudius Marcellus consul in Sicilia, quæ prope tota ad Pœnos defecerat, Syracusas obsedit. Philippo Macedonum regi bellum indictum est, qui ad Apolloniam nocturno prælio oppressus fugatusque in Macedoniam cum prope inermi exercitu perfugit: ad id bellum gerendum Valerius prætor missus est. Res præterea in Hispania a P. et Cn. Scipionibus adversus Carthaginienses gestas continet. Syphax rex Numidiæ in amicitiam ascitus, et a Masinissa rege Mæsuliorum pro Carthaginiensibus pugnantem victus in Maurusios cum magna manu transit contra Gades, ubi angusto freto Africa et Hispania dirimuntur. Celtiberi quoque in amicitiam recepti sunt, quorum auxiliiis ascitis tunc primum mercenarium militem Romana castra habuerunt.





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cipio summæ totius professi plerique sunt rerum scrip-  
tores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile quæ umquam  
gesta sint me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Car-  
thaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque 2  
validiores opibus ullæ inter se civitates gentesque con-  
tulerunt arma, neque his ipsis tantum umquam virium  
aut roboris fuit: et haud ignotas belli artes inter sese  
sed expertas primo Punico conserebant bello: et adeo  
varia fortuna belli ancepsque Mars fuit, ut propius  
periculum fuerint qui vicerunt: odiis etiam prope ma-  
joribus certarunt quam viribus, Romanis indignantibus,  
quod victoribus victi ultro inferrent arma, Pœnis, quod  
superbe avareque crederent imperitatum victis esse.  
Fama est etiam Hannibalem annorum ferme novem 3  
pueriliter blandientem patri Hamilcari, ut duceretur  
in Hispaniam, quum perfecto Africo bello exercitum  
eo trajecturus sacrificaret, altaribus admotum tactis  
sacris jurejurando adactum, se quum primum posset

<sup>4</sup> hostem fore pupulo Romano. Angebant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissæ: nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam, et Sardiniam inter motum Africæ fraude Romanorum, stipendio

(2) etiam insuper imposito, interceptam. His anxius curis ita se Africo bello, quod fuit sub recentem Romanam pacem, per quinque annos, ita deinde novem annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gessit, ut appareret majus eum quam quod gereret agitare in animo bellum, et, si diutius vixisset, Hamilcare duce Pœnos arma Italiæ illaturos fuisse, qui Hannibalis ductu intulerunt.

<sup>2</sup> Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hannibalis

<sup>3</sup> distulerunt bellum. Medius Hasdrubal inter patrem ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit, flore ætatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus, gener inde ob aliam indolem profecto animi adscitus, et, quia gener erat, factionis Barcinæ opibus, quæ apud milites plebemque plus quam modicæ erant, haud sane voluntate principum in imperio positus. Is plura consilio

<sup>4</sup> quam vi gerens hospitiiis magis regulorum conciliandisque per amicitiam principum novis gentibus quam

<sup>5</sup> bello aut armis rem Carthaginensem auxit. Cæterum nihilo ei pax tutior fuit: barbarus eum quidam palam ob iram interfecti ab eo domini obtruncat, comprehensusque ab circumstantibus haud alio quam si evasisset vultu, tormentis quoque quum laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris ut superante lætitia dolores ridentis etiam

<sup>6</sup> speciem præbuerit. Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia miræ artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperioque suo jungendis fuerat, fœdus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque imperii esset annis Hiberus Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur,

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In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit quin præ-(3)  
 rogativam militarem, qua extemplo juvenis Hannibal  
 in prætorium delatus imperatorque ingenti omnium  
 clamore atque adsensu appellatus erat, favor plebis se-  
 queretur. Hunc vixdum puberem Hasdrubal litteris 2  
 ad se accersierat: acta res etiam in senatu fuerat, Bar-  
 cinis nitentibus ut adsuaderet militiæ Hannibal atque  
 in paternas succederet opes: Hanno alterius factionis  
 princeps "Et æquum postulare videtur" inquit "Has-  
 drubal, et ego tamen non censeo quod petit tribuen-  
 dum." Quum admiratione tam ancipitis sententiæ in 3  
 se omnes convertisset, "Florem ætatis" inquit "Has-  
 drubal, quem ipse patri Hannibalis fruendum præbuit,  
 justo jure eum a filio repeti censet: nos tamen minime  
 decet juventutem nostram pro militari rudimento ad-  
 suefacere libidini prætorum. An hoc timemus, ne Ha- 4  
 milcaris filius nimis sero imperia immodica et regni  
 paterni speciem videat, et, cujus regis genero heredi-  
 tarii sint relictis exercitus nostri, ejus filio parum ma-  
 ture serviamus? ego istum juvenem domi tenendum,  
 sub legibus sub magistratibus docendum vivere æquo  
 jure cum cæteris censeo, ne quandoque parvus hic ignis  
 incendium ingens exsuscitet." Pauci ac ferme opti-(4)  
 mus quisque Hannoni adsentiebantur, sed, ut plerum-  
 que fit, major pars meliorem vicit. Missus Hannibal 2  
 in Hispaniam primo statim adventu omnem exercitum  
 in se convertit: Hamilcarem juvenem redditum sibi  
 veteres milites credere, eundem vigorem in vultu vim-  
 que in oculis habitum oris lineamentaue intueri: dein  
 brevi effecit ut pater in se minimum momentum ad  
 favorem conciliandum esset. Numquam ingenium idem 3  
 ad res diversissimas, parendum atque imperandum, ha-  
 bilis fuit; itaque haud facile discerneres, utrum impe-

ratori an exercitui carior esset: neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam præficere malle ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset, neque milites alio duce plus confidere  
4 aut audere. Plurimum audaciæ ad pericula capessenda,  
5 plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula erat. Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari aut animus vinci poterat: caloris ac frigoris patientia par: cibi potionisque de-  
6 siderio naturali non voluntate modus finitus. Vigiliarum somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata tempora: id quod gerendis rebus superesset, quieti datum: ea neque molli strato neque silentio accersita: multi sæpe militari sagulo opertum humi jacentem inter custodias  
7 stationesque militum conspexerunt. Vestitus nihil inter æquales excellens: arma atque equi conspiciebantur.  
8 Equitum peditumque idem longe primus erat: princeps in prælium ibat, ultimus conserto prælio ex-  
9 debat. Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia æquabant, inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum jus-  
10 jurandum, nulla religio. Cum hac indole virtutum atque vitiorum triennio sub Hasdrubale imperatore meruit, nulla re, quæ agenda videndaque magno futuro duci esset, prætermissa.

(5) Cæterum ex quo die dux est declaratus, velut Italia ei provincia decreta bellumque Romanum mandatum esset, nihil prolatandum ratus, ne se quoque, ut patrem Hamilcarem deinde Hasdrubalem, cunctantem casus aliquis opprimeret, Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit.  
2 Quibus oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur, in Olcadum prius fines—ultra Hiberum ea gens in parte magis quam in ditione Carthaginensium erat—induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos sed rerum serie finitimis domitis gentibus jungendoque

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tractus ad id bellum videri posset. Cartalam urbem 3  
opulentam, caput gentis ejus, expugnat diripitque, quo  
metu percussæ minores civitates stipendio imposito im-  
perium acceperunt: victor exercitus opulentusque præda  
Carthaginem novam in hiberna est deductus. Ibi large 4  
partiundo prædam stipendioque præterito cum fide ex-  
solvendo cunctis civium sociorumque animis in se  
firmatis vere primo in Vaccæos promotum bellum.  
Hermandica et Arbocala eorum urbes vi captæ. Ar- 5  
bocala et virtute et multitudine oppidanorum diu de-  
fensa. Ab Hermandica profugi exsulis Olcadum—  
prioræ ætate domitæ gentis—quum se junxissent, con-  
citant Carpentanos, adortique Hannibalem regressum  
ex Vaccæis haud procul Tago flumine agmen grave  
præda turbavere. Hannibal prælio abstinuit, castrisque 6  
super ripam positis, quum prima quies silentiumque  
ab hostibus fuit, amnem vado trajecit, valloque ita  
producto ut locum ad transgrediendum hostes haberent,  
invadere eos transeuntes statuit. Equitibus præcepit 7  
ut, quum ingressos aquam viderent, adorirentur peditum  
agmen: in ripa elephantos—quadraginta autem erant  
—disponit. Carpentanorum cum appendicibus Olca- 8  
dum Vaccæorumque centum millia fuere, invicta acies,  
si æquo dimicaretur campo. Itaque et ingenio feroces 9  
et multitudine freti et, quod metu cessisse credebant  
hostem, id morari victoriam rati quod interesset amnis,  
clamore sublato passim sine ullius imperio qua cuique  
proximum est in amnem ruunt. Et ex parte altera 10  
ripæ vis ingens equitum in flumen immissa, medioque  
alveo haudquaquam pari certamine concursus, quippe  
ubi pedes instabilis ac vix vado fidens vel ab inermi  
equite equo temere acto perverti posset, eques corpore  
armisque liber—equo vel per medios gurgites stabili—

- 11 **comminus** **eminusque** rem gereret. Pars magna flumine absumpta, quidam verticoso amni delati in hostes ab elephantis obtriti sunt: postremi, quibus regressus in suam ripam tutior fuit, ex varia trepidatione quum in unum colligerentur, priusquam tanto pavore reciperent animos, Hannibal agmine quadrato amnem ingressus fugam ex ripa fecit, vastatisque agris intra paucos dies Carpentanos quoque in deditionem accepit.
- 12 Et jam omnia trans Hiberum præter Saguntinos (6) Carthaginiensium erant. Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat, cæterum jam belli causa certamina cum 2 finitimis serebantur, maxime Turdetanis. Quibus quum adesset idem qui litis erat sator, nec certamen juris sed vim quæri appareret, legati a Saguntinis Romam missi auxilium ad bellum jam haud dubie imminens orantes.
- 3 Consules tunc Romæ erant P. Cornelius Scipio et Tib. Sempronius Longus, qui quum legatis in senatum introductis de re publica retulissent, placuissetque mitti legatos in Hispaniam ad res sociorum inspiciendas, quibus si videretur digna causa, et Hannibali denuntiarent ut ab Saguntinis sociis populi Romani abstineret, et Carthaginem in Africam trajicerent ac sociorum populi Romani querimonias deferrent,—hac legatione decreta necdum missa, omnium spe celerius Saguntum 4 oppugnari adlatum est. Tunc relata de integro res ad senatum, et alii provincias consulibus Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes terra marique rem gerendam censebat, alii totum in Hispaniam Hannibalemque intenderant bellum: erant qui non temere movendam rem tantam exspectandosque ex Hispania legatos censerent.
- 5 Hæc sententia, quæ tutissima videbatur, vicit: legati que eo maturius missi P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Bæbius Tamphilus Saguntum ad Hannibalem atque inde Car-

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thaginem, si non absisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in pœnam fœderis rupti deprecandum.

Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, jam Saguntum (7) summa vi oppugnabatur. Civitas ea longe opulentis-2  
sima ultra Hiberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a mari. Oriundi a Zacyntho insula dicuntur, mixtique etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum quidam generis: cæterum in tantas brevi creverant opes seu maritimis seu terrestribus fructibus, seu multitudinis incremento seu disciplinæ sanctitate, qua fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt. Hannibal infesto exercitu ingressus fines 3  
pervastatis passim agris urbem tripertito adgreditur. Angulus muri erat in planiorem patentioreque quam 4  
cætera circa vallem vergens: adversus eum vineas agere instituit, per quas aries mœnibus admoveri posset. Sed ut locus procul muro satis æquus agendis vineis 5  
fuit, ita haudquaquam prospere, postquam ad effectum operis ventum est, cœptis succedebat: et turris ingens imminebat, et murus, ut in suspecto loco, supra cæteræ modum altitudinis emunitus erat, et juvenus delecta, ubi plurimum periculi ac timoris ostendebatur, ibi vi majore obsistebant. Ac primo missilibus submovere 6  
hostem nec quicquam satis tutum munientibus pati, deinde jam non pro mœnibus modo atque turri tela micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam in stationes opera-que hostium animus erat, quibus tumultuariis certaminibus haud ferme plures Saguntini cadebant quam Pœni. Ut vero Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius subit, 7  
adversum femur tragula graviter ictus cecidit, tanta circa fuga ac trepidatio fuit, ut non multum abesset quin opera ac vineæ desererentur. Obsidio deinde per (8)  
paucos dies magis quam oppugnatio fuit, dum vulnus ducis curaretur. Per quod tempus ut quies certami-2



num erat, ita ab apparatu operum ac munitionum nihil  
cessatum. Itaque acrius de integro coortum est bel-  
lum, pluribusque partibus—vix accipientibus quibus-  
dam opera locis—vineæ cœptæ agi admoverique aries.  
Abundabat multitudine hominum Pœnus—ad centum  
quinquaginta millia habuisse in armis satis creditur—  
oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifariam  
distineri cœpti sunt: non sufficebant: itaque jam fe-  
riebantur arietibus muri quassatæque multæ partes  
erant. Una continentibus ruinis nudaverat urbem:  
tres deinceps turres quantumque inter eas muri erat  
cum fragore ingenti prociderunt. Captum oppidum ea  
ruina crediderant Pœni, qua, velut si pariter utrosque  
murus texisset, ita utrimque in pugnam procursum est.  
Nihil tumultuariæ pugnæ simile erat, quales in oppug-  
nationibus urbium per occasionem partis alterius con-  
ciri solent, sed justæ acies velut patenti campo inter  
ruinas muri tectaque urbis modico distantia intervallo  
constiterant. Hinc spes hinc desperatio animos irritat,  
Pœno cepisse jam se urbem, si paulum adnitatur, cre-  
dente, Saguntinis pro nudata mœnibus patria corpora  
opponentibus, nec ullo pedem referente ne in relictum  
a se locum hostem immitteret. Itaque quo acrius et  
confertim magis utrimque pugnabatur, eo plures vul-  
nerabantur nullo inter arma corporaque vano interci-  
dente telo. Phalarica erat Saguntinis missile telum  
hastili abiegno et cætero tereti præterquam ad extre-  
mum, unde ferrum exstabat. Id, sicut in pilo, quad-  
ratum stuppa circumligabant linebantque pice: ferrum  
autem tres longum habebat pedes, ut cum armis trans-  
figere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiam si hæsisset  
in scuto nec penetrasset in corpus, pavorem faciebat,  
quod, quum medium accensum mitteretur conceptumque

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ipso motu multo majorem ignem ferret, arma omitti coge-  
bat nudumque militem ad insequentes ictus præ-  
bebat. Quum diu anceps fuisset certamen et Sagun- (9)  
tinis, quia præter spem resisterent, crevisset animi,  
Pœnus, quia non vicisset, pro victo esset, clamorem  
repente oppidani tollunt hostemque in ruinas muri  
expellunt, inde impeditum trepidantemque exturbant,  
postremo fusum fugatumque in castra redigunt.

Interim ab Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est: 2  
quibus obviam ad mare missi ab Hannibale qui di-  
cerent, nec tuto eos adituros inter tot tam effrenatarum  
gentium arma, nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine re-  
rum operæ esse legationes audire. Apparebat non 3  
admissos protinus Carthaginem ituros. Litteras igitur 4  
nuntiosque ad principes factionis Barcinæ præmittit, ut  
præpararent suorum animos, ne quid pars altera gra-  
tificari pro Romanis posset. Itaque præterquam quod (10)  
admissi auditique sunt, ea quoque vana atque irrita  
legatio fuit. Hanno unus adversus senatum causam 2  
fœderis magno silentio propter auctoritatem suam non  
cum adsensu audientium egit, per deos fœderum arbitros  
ac testes senatum obtestans, ne Romanum cum Sagun-  
tino suscitarent bellum. Monuisse prædixisse se, ne  
Hamilcaris progeniem ad exercitum mitterent: non  
manes non stirpem ejus conquiescere viri, nec umquam,  
donec sanguinis nominisque Barcini quisquam supersit,  
quietura Romana fœdera: "Juvenem flagrantem cu- 3  
pidine regni viamque unam ad id cernentem, si ex bellis  
bella serendo succinctus armis legionibusque vivat, velut  
materiam igni præbentes ad exercitus misistis. Aluistis 4  
ergo hoc incendium, quo nunc ardetis. Saguntum vestri 5  
circumsedent exercitus, unde arcentur fœdere: mox  
Carthaginem circumsedebunt Romanæ legiones ducibus

iisdem diis, per quos priore bello rupta foedera sunt  
6 ulti. Utrum hostem an vos an fortunam utriusque  
populi ignoratis? legatos ab sociis et pro sociis veni-  
entes bonus imperator vester in castra non admisit, jus  
gentium sustulit: hi tamen, unde ne hostium quidem  
7 legati arcentur, pulsati ad vos venerunt. Res ex foedere  
repetuntur: publica fraus absit, auctorem culpæ et  
8 reum criminis deposcant. Quo lenius agunt, segnius  
incipiunt, eo, quum cœperint, vereor ne perseverantius  
9 sæviant. Ægates insulas Erycemque ante oculos pro-  
ponite, quæ terra marique per quatuor et viginti annos  
10 passi sitis. Nec puer hic dux erat sed pater ipse Ha-  
milcar—Mars alter, ut isti volunt. Sed Tarento, id est  
Italia, non abstinueramus ex foedere, sicut nunc Sagunto  
11 non abstinemus. Vicerunt ergo dii hominesque, et id  
de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus foedus rupisset,  
eventus belli velut æquus iudex, unde jus stabat, ei  
victoriam dedit. Carthagini nunc Hannibal vineas tur-  
resque admovet, Carthaginis mœnia quatit ariete: Sa-  
gunti ruinæ—falsus utinam vates sim—nostris capitibus  
incident, susceptumque cum Saguntinis bellum habendu-  
m cum Romanis est. Dedemus ergo Hannibalem?  
12 dicet aliquis. Scio meam levem esse in eo auctoritatem  
propter paternas inimicitias: sed et Hamilcarem eo  
perisse lætatus sum, quod, si ille viveret, bellum jam  
haberemus cum Romanis, et hunc juvenem tamquam  
furiam facemque hujus belli odi ac detestor: nec de-  
dendum solum ad piaculum rupti foederis sed, si nemo  
deposcit, devehendum in ultimas maris terrarumque  
oras, ablegandum eo, unde nec ad nos nomen famaque  
ejus accedere neque ille sollicitare quietæ civitatis statum  
13 possit. Ego ita censeo, legatos extemplo Romam mit-  
tendos qui senatui satisfaciant, alios, qui Hannibali

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nuntient ut exercitum ab Sagunto abducat, ipsumque Hannibalem ex fœdere Romanis dedant: tertiam legationem ad res Saguntinis reddendas decerno." Quum (11) Hanno perorasset, nemini omnium certare oratione cum eo necesse fuit, adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibalis erat, infestiusque loquutum arguebant Hannonem quam Flac- cum Valerium legatum Romanum. Responsum inde lega- 2 tis Romanis est, bellum ortum ab Saguntinis non ab Hannibale esse: populum Romanum injuste facere, si Saguntinos vetustissimæ Carthaginensium societati præponat.

Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mittendis, 3 Hannibal, quia fessum militem præliis operibusque habebat, paucorum his dierum quietem dedit stationibus ad custodiam vinearum aliorumque operum dispositis. Interim animos eorum nunc ira in hostes stimulando 4 nunc spe præmiorum accendit: ut vero pro concione prædam captæ urbis edixit militum fore, adeo accensi omnes sunt ut, si extemplo signum datum esset, nulla vi resisti videretur posse. Saguntini ut a præliis quie- 5 tem habuerant nec lacessentes nec lacessiti per aliquot dies, ita non nocte non die umquam cessaverant ab opere, ut novum murum ab ea parte, qua patefactum oppidum ruinis erat, reficerent. Inde oppugnatio eos 6 aliquanto atrocior quam ante adorta est, nec, qua primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem, quum omnia variis clamoribus streperent, satis scire poterant. Ipse Han- 7 nibal, qua turris mobilis omnia munimenta urbis superans altitudine agebatur, hortator aderat. Quæ quum admota catapultis balistisque per omnia tabulata dispositis muros defensoribus nudasset, tam Hannibal occasionem ratus quingentos ferme Afros cum dolabris ad subruendum ab imo murum mittit. Nec erat difficile 8 opus, quod cæmenta non calce durata erant sed interlita

- luto structuræ antiquæ genere. Itaque latius quam qua  
cæderetur ruebat, perque patentia ruinis agmina arma-  
9 torum in urbem vadebant. Locum quoque editum capi-  
piunt, collatisque eo catapultis balistisque, ut castellum  
in ipsa urbe velut arcem imminensem haberent, muro  
10 circumdant. Et Saguntini murum interiorem ab non-  
dum capta parte urbis ducunt. Utrimque summa vi et  
muniunt et pugnant: sed interiora tuendo minorem in  
11 dies urbem Saguntini faciunt. Simul crescit inopia om-  
nium longa obsidione et minuitur exspectatio externæ  
opis, quum tam procul Romani unica spes, circa omnia  
12 hostium essent. Paulisper tamen adfectos animos re-  
creavit repentina profectio Hannibalis in Oretanos Car-  
pentanosque, qui duo populi, dilectus acerbitate con-  
sternati retentis conquisitoribus metum defectionis quum  
præbuissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis omiserunt  
(12) mota arma. Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segnior erat Ma-  
harbale Himilconis filio—eum præfecerat Hannibal—ita  
impigre rem agente ut ducem abesse nec cives nec hostes  
2 sentirent. Is et proelia aliquot secunda fecit et tribus  
arietibus aliquantum muri discussit, strataque omnia  
3 recentibus ruinis advenienti Hannibali ostendit. Ita-  
que ad ipsam arcem extemplo ductus exercitus atroxque  
proelium cum multorum utrimque cæde initum et pars  
arcis capta est.
- 4 Temptata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes, Al-  
conem Saguntinum et Alorcum Hispanum. Alco insciis  
Saguntinis—precibus aliquid moturum ratus—quum ad  
Hannibalem noctu transisset, postquam nihil lacrimæ  
movebant conditionesque tristes ut ab irato victore  
ferebantur, transfuga ex oratore factus apud hostem  
mansit, moriturum adfirmans qui sub conditionibus iis  
5 de pace ageret. Postulabatur autem, redderent res

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Turdetanis traditoque omni auro atque argento egressi urbem cum singulis vestimentis ibi habitarent ubi Pœnus jussisset. Has pacis leges abnuente Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorcus, vinci animos ubi alia vincantur adfirmans, se pacis ejus interpretem fore pollicetur. Erat autem tum miles Hannibalis, cæterum publice Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. Tradito palam 7 telo custodibus hostium transgressus munimenta ad prætorem Saguntinum—et ipse ita jubebat—est deductus. Quo quum extemplo concursus omnis generis hominum esset factus, submota cætera multitudine senatus Alorco datus est, cujus talis oratio fuit : “ Si civis (13) vester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendam ad Hannibalem venit, ita pacis conditiones ab Hannibale ad vos retulisset, supervacaneum hoc mihi fuisset iter, quo nec orator Hannibalis nec transfuga ad vos venissem. Quum ille aut vestra aut sua culpa manserit apud hostem—sua, si metum simulavit, vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus—ego, ne ignoraretis esse aliquas et salutis et pacis vobis conditiones, pro vetusto hospitio, quod mihi vobiscum est, ad vos veni. Vestra autem 2 causa me nec ullius alterius loqui quæ loquor apud vos, vel ea fides sit, quod neque dum vestris viribus restitistis neque dum auxilia ab Romanis sperastis pacis umquam apud vos mentionem feci. Postquam nec ab 3 Romanis vobis ulla est spes nec vestra vos jam aut arma aut mœnia satis defendunt, pacem adfero ad vos magis necessariam quam æquam. Cujus ita aliqua 4 spes est, si eam, quemadmodum ut victor fert Hannibal, sic vos ut victi audiat, si non id, quod amittitur, in damno, quum omnia victoris sint, sed quidquid relinquatur pro munere habituri estis—: urbem vobis, quam ex magna parte dirutam captam fere totam habet,

adimit, agros relinquit, locum adsignaturus in quo novum oppidum ædificetis : aurum et argentum omne, publicum privatumque, ad se jubet deferri : corpora vestra conjugum ac liberorum vestrorum servat inviolata, si inermes cum binis vestimentis velitis ab Sagunto exire.

Hæc victor hostis imperat, hæc, quamquam sunt gravia  
 5 atque acerba, fortuna vestra vobis suadet. Equidem haud despero, quum omnium potestas ei facta sit, aliquid ex his rebus remissurum : sed vel hæc patienda censeo potius quam trucidari corpora vestra, rapi trahique ante ora vestra conjuges ac liberos belli jure sinatis."

- (14) Ad hæc audienda quum circumfusa paulatim multitudine permixtum senatui esset populi concilium, repente primores secessione facta, priusquam responsum daretur, argentum aurumque omne ex publico privatoque in forum collatum in ignem ad id raptim factum conjicientes  
 2 eodem plerique semet ipsi præcipitaverunt. Quum ex eo pavor ac trepidatio totam urbem pervasisset, alius insuper tumultus ex arce auditur : turris diu quassata prociderat, perque ruinam ejus cohors Pœnorum impetu facto quum signum imperatori dedisset nudatam stationibus custodiisque solitis hostium esse urbem, non cunctandum in tali occasione ratus Hannibal totis viribus adgressus urbem momento cepit, signo dato ut  
 3 omnes puberes interficerentur. Quod imperium crudele, cæterum prope necessarium cognitum ipso eventu est : cui enim parci potuit ex his, qui aut inclusi cum conjugibus ac liberis domos super se ipsos concremaverunt, aut armati nullum ante finem pugnae quam morientes  
 (15) fecerunt? Captum oppidum est cum ingenti præda. Quamquam pleraque ab dominis de industria corrupta erant, et in cædibus vix ullum discrimen ætatis ira

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fecerat, et captivi militum præda fuerant, tamen et ex pretio rerum venditarum aliquantum pecuniæ redactum esse constat, et multam pretiosam suppellectilem vestemque missam Carthaginem.

Octavo mense, quam cœptum oppugnari, captum 2 Saguntum quidam scripsere: inde Carthaginem novam in hiberna Hannibalem concessisse, quinto deinde mense, quam ab Carthagine profectus sit, in Italiam pervenisse. Quæ si ita sunt, fieri non potuit ut P. 3 Cornelius Tib. Sempronius consules fuerint, ad quos et principio oppugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint et qui in suo magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum amnem, ambo aliquanto post ad Trebiam pugnaverint. Aut omnia breviora aliquanto fuere aut Saguntum prin- 4 cipio anni, quo P. Cornelius Tib. Sempronius consules fuerunt, non cœptum oppugnari est sed captum. Nam 5 excessisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Servilii et C. Flamini non potest, quia C. Flaminius Arimini consulatum iniit, creatus a Tib. Sempronio consule, qui post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam quum venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna rediit.

Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant ab (16) Carthagine, Romam retulerunt omnia hostilia esse, et Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est, tantusque simul mæror patres misericordiaque sociorum peremptorum indigne et pudor non lati auxilii et ira in Carthaginienses metusque de summa rerum cepit, velut si jam ad portas hostis esset, ut tot uno tempore motibus animi turbati trepidarent magis quam consulerent. Nam neque hos- 2 tem acriorem bellicosio remque secum congressum, nec rem Romanam tam desidem umquam fuisse atque imbellem. Sardos Corſosque et Histros atque Illyrios 3



laccessisse magis quam exercuisse Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumultuatum verius quam belligeratum: Pœnum hostem veteranum, trium et viginti annorum militia durissima inter Hispanas gentes semper victorem, duci acerrimo aduetum, recentem ab excidio opulentissimæ urbis Hiberum transire, trahere secum tot excitos Hispanorum populos, concitum avidas semper armorum Gallicas gentes: cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro mœnibus Romanis esse.

- (17) Nominatæ jam antea consulibus provinciæ erant, tum sortiri jussi: Cornelio Hispania, Sempronio Africa cum Sicilia evenit. Sex in eum annum decretæ legiones et sociûm quantum ipsis videretur, et classis quanta parari 2 posset. Quatuor et viginti peditum Romanorum millia sunt scripta et mille octingenti equites, sociorum quadraginta millia peditum quatuor millia et quadringenti equites: naves ducentæ viginti quinqueremes, celoces 3 viginti deductæ. Latum inde ad populum, vellent juberent populo Carthaginensi bellum indicî: ejusque belli causa supplicatio per urbem habita atque adorati dii, ut bene ac feliciter eveniret quod bellum populus 4 Romanus jussisset. Inter consules ita copiæ divisæ: Sempronio datæ legiones duæ—ea quaterna millia erant peditum et treceni equites—et sociorum sedecim millia peditum, equites mille octingenti, naves longæ centum sexaginta, celoces duodecim: cum his terrestribus maritimisque copiis Tib. Sempronius missus in Siciliam, ita in Africam transmissurus, si ad arcendum Italia Pœnum consul alter satis esset: Cornelio minus copiarum datum, quia L. Manlius prætor et ipse cum haud invalido præsidio in Galliam mittebatur: navium maxime Cornelio numerus deminutus: sexaginta quinqueremes datæ—neque enim mari venturum aut ea parte belli

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dimicaturum hostem credebant—et duæ Romanæ legiones cum suo justo equitatu et quatuordecim millibus sociorum peditum, equitibus mille sexcentis. Duas 5 legiones Romanas et decem millia sociorum peditum, mille equites socios, sexcentos Romanos Gallia provincia eodem versa in Punicum bellum habuit.

His ita comparatis, ut omnia justa ante bellum fierent, (18) legatos majores natu, Q. Fabium, M. Livium, L. Æmili-  
um, C. Licinium, Q. Bæbium, in Africam mittunt ad percunctandos Carthaginienses, publicone consilio Hannibal Saguntum oppugnasset, et, si id quod facturi videbantur faterentur ac defenderent publico consilio factum, ut indicerent populo Carthaginiensi bellum. Romani postquam Carthaginem venerunt, quum senatus 2  
datus esset et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum quod mandatum erat percunctatus esset, tum ex Carthaginiensibus unus: “Præceps vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, quum Hannibalem tamquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnantem deposcebatis: cæterum hæc legatio verbis adhuc lenior est, re asperior: tunc enim Hannibal et insimulabatur et deposcebatur, nunc ab nobis et confessio culpæ exprimitur et ut a confessis res extemplo repetuntur. Ego autem non privato pub- 3  
licone consilio Saguntum oppugnatum sit quærendum censeam, sed utrum jure an injuria. Nostra enim hæc 4  
quæstio atque animadversio in civem nostrum est, quid nostro aut suo fecerit arbitrio: vobiscum una disceptatio est, licueritne per fœdus fieri. Itaque quoniam 5  
discerni placet, quid publico consilio quid sua sponte imperatores faciant, nobis vobiscum fœdus est a C. Lutatius consule ictum, in quo quum caveretur utrorumque sociis, nihil de Saguntinis—necdum enim erant socii vestri—cautum est. At enim eo fœdere quod cum 6

7 Hasdrubale ictum est Saguntini excipiuntur. Adversus  
 quod ego nihil dicturus sum nisi quod a vobis didici:  
 vos enim, quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobiscum fœ-  
 dus fecit, quia neque auctoritate patrum nec populi  
 jussu ictum erat, negastis vos eo teneri: itaque aliud  
 8 de integro fœdus publico consilio ictum est. Si vos non  
 tenent fœdera vestra nisi ex auctoritate aut jussu vestro  
 9 scilis fecit, obligare potuit. Proinde omittite Sagunti  
 atque Hiberi mentionem facere, et, quod diu parturit  
 10 animus vester, aliquando pariat." Tum Romanus sinu  
 ex toga facto "Hio" inquit "vobis bellum et pacem por-  
 11 tamus: utrum placet, sumite." Sub hanc vocem haud  
 minus ferociter, "Daret utrum vellet!" subelamatum est.  
 12 Et quum is iterum sinu effuso bellum dare dixisset,  
 accipere se omnes responderunt, et, quibus acciperent  
 (19) animis, iisdem se gesturos. Hæc directa percunctatio  
 ac denuntiatio belli magis ex dignitate populi Romani  
 visa est quam de fœderum iura verbis disceptare, quum  
 2 ante, tum maxime Sagunto excisa. Nam si verborum  
 disceptationis res esset, quid fœdus Hasdrubalis cum  
 Lutatii priore fœdere, quod mutatum est, comparandum  
 erat, quum in Lutatii fœdere diserte additum esset, ita  
 id ratum fore si populus censuisset: in Hasdrubalis  
 fœdere nec exceptum tale quicquam fuerit, et tot anno-  
 rum silentio ita vivo eo comprobatum sit fœdus, ut ne  
 3 mortuo quidem auctore quicquam mutaretur. Quam-  
 quam, et si priore fœdere staretur, satis cantum erat  
 Saguntinis sociis utrorumque exceptis: nam neque  
 additum erat iis qui tunc essent, nec, ne qui postea  
 adsumerentur: et quum adsumere novos liceret socios,  
 quis æquum censeret aut ob nulla quemquam merita in  
 amicitiam recipi, aut receptos in fidem non defendi?

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tantum ne Carthaginensium socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem, aut sua sponte desciscentes reciperentur.

Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicuti iis Romæ imperatum erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates, ut in societatem perlicerent aut averterent a Pœnis, trajecerunt. Ad Bargusios primum venerunt, a quibus benigne excepti, quia tædebat imperii Punici, multos trans Hiberum populos ad cupidinem novæ fortunæ erexerunt. Inde est ventum ad Volcianos, quorum celebre per Hispaniam responsum cæteros populos ab societate Romana avertit. Ita enim maximus natus ex iis in concilio respondit: "Quæ verecundia est, Romani, postulare vos uti vestram Carthaginensium amicitiam præponamus, quum, qui id fecerunt, Saguntinos crudelius, quam Pœnus hostis prodidit, vos socii prodideritis? ibi quæeratis socios censeo, ubi Saguntina clades ignota est: Hispanis populis sicut lugubre ita insigne documentum Sagunti ruinæ erunt, ne quis fidei Romanæ aut societati confidat." Inde extemplo abire finibus Volcianorum jussi ab nullo deinde concilio Hispaniæ benigniora verba tulere. Ita nequicquam peragrata Hispania in Gallias transeunt. In iis nova terribilisque species visa est, quod armati — ita mos gentis erat — in concilium venerunt. Quum verbis extollentes gloriam virtutemque populi Romani ac magnitudinem imperii petissent, ne Pœno bellum Italiæ inferenti per agros urbesque suas transitum darent, tantus cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus, ut vix a magistratibus majoribusque natus juvenis sedaretur: adeo stolidus impudensque postulatio visa est, censere, ne in Italiam transmittant Galli bellum, ipsos id avertere in se agrosque suos pro alienis populandos objicere. Sedato tandem fremitu responsum legatis est, neque Romanorum

in se meritum esse neque Carthaginiensium injuriam, ob quæ aut pro Romanis aut adversus Pœnos sumant arma: contra ea audire sese, gentis suæ homines agro finibusque Italiæ pelli a populo Romano stipendiumque  
 4 pendere et cætera indigna pati. Eadem ferme in cæteris Galliæ conciliis dicta auditaque, nec hospitale quicquam pacatumve satis prius auditum quam Massi-  
 5 liam venerere. Ibi omnia ab sociis inquisita cum cura ac fide cognita, præoccupatos jam ante ab Hannibale Gallorum animos esse: sed næ illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore — adeo ferocia atque indomita ingenia esse —, ni subinde auro, cujus avidissima gens est,  
 6 principum animi concilientur. Ita peragratiss Hispaniæ et Galliæ populis legati Romam redeunt haud ita multo  
 7 post quam consules in provincias profecti erant. Civitatem omnem in expectationem belli erectam invenerunt, satis constante fama jam Hiberum Pœnos transmississe.

- (21) Hannibal Sagunto capto Carthaginem novam in hiberna concesserat, ibique auditis, quæ Romæ quæque Carthagine acta decretaque forent, seque non ducem solum sed etiam causam esse belli, partitis divenditisque reliquiis prædæ nihil ultra differendum ratus, Hispani generis milites convocat: "Credo ego vos," inquit, "socii, et ipsos cernere, pacatis omnibus Hispaniæ populis aut finiendam nobis militiam exercitusque dimittendos esse aut in alias terras transferendum bellum: ita enim hæ gentes non pacis solum sed etiam victoriæ bonis florebunt, si ex aliis gentibus prædam et  
 2 gloriam quæremus. Itaque quum longinqua a domo instet militia incertumque sit quando domos vestras et quæ cuique ibi cara sunt visuri sitis, si quis vestrum  
 3 suos invisere vult, commeatum do. Primo vere edico

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adsitis, ut diis bene juvantibus bellum ingentis gloriæ prædæque futurum incipiamus.” Omnibus fere visendi 4 domos oblata ultro potestas grata erat, et jam desiderantibus suos et longius in futurum providentibus desiderium : per totum tempus hiemis quies inter labores aut jam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos renovavit corpora animosque ad omnia de integro patienda : vere primo ad edictum convenere.

Hannibal, quum recensuisset omnium gentium auxi- 5 lia, Gades profectus Herculi vota exsolvit, novisque se obligat votis si cætera prospera evenissent. Inde par- 6 tiens curas simul in inferendum atque arcendum bellum, ne, dum ipse terrestri per Hispaniam Galliasque itinere Italiam peteret, nuda apertaue Romanis Africa ab Sicilia esset, valido præsidio firmare eam statuit. Pro 7 co supplementum ipse ex Africa maxime jaculatorum, levium armis, petiit, ut Afri in Hispania, in Africa Hispani, melior procul ab domo futurus uterque miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati stipendia facerent. Tredecim millia octingentos quinquaginta pedites ce- 8 tratos misit in Africam, et funditores Baleares octingentos septuaginta, equites mixtos ex multis gentibus mille ducentos. Has copias partim Carthagini præsidio 9 esse partim distribui per Africam jubet. Simul conquistatoribus in civitates missis quatuor millia conscripta delectæ juventutis, præsidium eosdem et obsides, duci Carthaginem jubet. Neque Hispaniam negligendam (22) ratus—atque id eo haud minus, quod haud ignarus erat circumitam ab Romanis eam legatis ad-sollicitandos principum animos—Hasdrubali fratri, viro impigro, eam provinciam destinat, firmatque eum Africis maxime præsidiis, peditum Afrorum undecim millibus octingentis quinquaginta, Liguribus trecentis, Balearibus quin-

2 gentis. Ad hæc peditum auxilia additi equites Liby-  
phoenices—mixtum Punicum Afris genus—quadrin-  
genti, et Numidæ Maurique accolæ Oceani ad mille  
octingenti, et parva Ilergetum manus ex Hispania, du-  
centi equites, et, ne quod terrestris deesset auxilii genus,  
3 elephantum quatuordecim. Classis præterea data ad tu-  
endam maritimam oram, quia qua parte belli vicerant,  
ea tum quoque rem gesturos Romanos credi poterat,  
quinquaginta quinqueremes, quadriremes duæ, triremes  
quinque: sed aptæ instructæque remigio triginta et  
duæ quinqueremes erant et triremes quinque.

4 Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus redit.  
Atque inde profectus præter Etovissam urbem ad Hi-  
berum maritimam oram ducit. Ibi fama est in quiete  
visum ab eo juvenem divina specie, qui se ab Jove  
diceret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum: proinde  
5 sequeretur neque usquam a se deflecteret oculos. Pa-  
vidum primo nusquam circumspicientem aut respi-  
cientem sequutum, deinde cura ingenii humani, quum,  
quidnam id esset quod respicere vetitus esset, agitaret  
animo, temperare oculis nequivisse: eum vidisse post  
sese serpentem mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum  
ac virgultorum strage ferri ac post insequi cum fragore  
6 cœli nimbum. Tum, quæ moles ea quidve prodigii  
esset, quærentem audisse vastitatem Italiæ esse: per-  
geret porro ire nec ultra inquireret sineretque fata in  
occulto esse.

(23) Hoc visu lætus tripertito Hiberum copias trajecit  
præmissis qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus ex-  
ercitus erat, donis conciliarent Alpiumque transitus  
2 specularentur. Nonaginta millia peditum, duodecim  
millia equitum Hiberum traduxit. Ilergetes inde Bar-  
gusiosque et Ausetanos et Lacetaniæ, quæ subjecta

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Pyrenæis montibus est, subegit, oræque huic omni præfecit Hannonem, ut fauces quæ Hispanias Galliis jungunt in potestate essent. Decem millia peditum 3 Hannoni ad præsidium obtinendæ regionis data et mille equites. Postquam per Pyrenæum saltum traduci exer- 4 citus est cœptus rumorque per barbaros manavit certior de bello Romano, tria millia inde Carpentanorum peditum iter averterunt. Constabat non tam bello motos 5 quam longinquitate viæ insuperabilique Alpium transitu. Hannibal, quia revocare aut vi retinere eos anceps erat, ne cæterorum etiam feroces animi irritarentur, supra septem millia hominum domos remisit, quos et ipse gravari militia senserat, Carpentanos quoque ab se dimissos simulans. Inde, ne mora atque otium (24) animos sollicitaret, cum reliquis copiis Pyrenæum transgreditur et ad oppidum Iliberri castra locat. Galli 2 quamquam Italiæ bellum inferri audiebant, tamen, quia vi subactos trans Pyrenæum Hispanos fama erat præsidiaque valida imposita, metu servitutis ad arma consternati, Ruscinonem aliquot populi conveniunt. Quod 3 ubi Hannibali nuntiatum est, moram magis quam bellum metuens oratores ad regulos eorum misit, colloqui semetipsum cum fuis velle, et vel illi propius Iliberrim accederent, vel se Ruscinonem processurum, ut ex propinquo congressus facilius esset: nam et accepturum eos in castra sua se lætum, nec cunctanter se ipsum ad eos venturum: hospitem enim se Galliæ non hostem advenisse, nec stricturum ante gladium, si per Gallos liceat, quam in Italiam venisset. Et per nuntios quidem hæc. Ut vero reguli Gallorum castris ad Iliberrim extemplo motis haud gravanter ad Pœnum venerunt, capti donis cum bona pace exercitum per fines suos præter Ruscinonem oppidum transmisserunt.



- (25) In Italiam interim nihil ultra quam Hiberum trans-  
isse Hannibalem a Massiliensium legatis Romam per-  
latum erat, quum, perinde ac si Alpes jam transisset,  
Boii sollicitatis Insubribus defecerunt, nec tam ob vete-  
res in populum Romanum iras quam quod nuper circa  
Padum Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum  
2 Gallicum deductas ægre patiebantur. Itaque armis  
repente arreptis in eum ipsum agrum impetu facto  
tantum terroris ac tumultus fecerunt, ut non agrestis  
modo multitudo sed ipsi triumviri Romani, qui ad  
agrum venerant adsignandum, diffisi Placentiæ mœnibus  
Mutinam confugerint C. Lutatius, C. Sèrvilius, M. An-  
3 nius. Lutatii nomen haud dubium est: pro C. Servilio  
et M. Annio Q. Acilium et C. Herennium habent qui-  
dam annales, alii P. Cornelium Asinam et C. Papirium  
4 Masonem. Id quoque dubium est, legati ad expostu-  
landum missi ad Boios violati sint an in triumviros  
5 agrum metantes impetus sit factus. Mutinæ quum  
obsiderentur et gens ad oppugnandarum urbium artes  
rudis, pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera, segnis in-  
tactis adsideret muris, simulari cœptum de pace agi,  
evocatique ab Gallorum principibus legati ad colloquium  
non contra jus modo gentium sed violata etiam, quæ  
data in id tempus erat, fide comprehenduntur, negan-  
tibus Gallis, nisi obsides sibi redderentur, eos dimis-  
6 suros. Quum hæc de legatis nuntiata essent et Mutina  
præsidiumque in periculo esset, L. Manlius prætor ira  
7 accensus effusum agmen ad Mutinam ducit. Silvæ  
tunc circa viam erant plerisque incultis: ibi inexplorato  
profectus, in insidias præcipitatus, multaque cum cæde  
8 suorum ægre in apertos campos emersit. Ibi castra  
communita et, quia Gallis ad temptanda ea defuit spes,  
refecti sunt militum animi, quamquam ad quingentos

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cecidisse satis constabat. Iter deinde de integro cœp-<sup>9</sup>  
tum, nec, dum per patentia loca ducebatur agmen,  
comparuit hostis: ubi rursus silvæ intratæ, tum pos-  
tremos adorti cum magna trepidatione ac pavore om-  
nium septingentos milites occiderunt, sex signa ademere.  
Finis et Gallis territandi et pavendi fuit Romanis, ut <sup>10</sup>  
e saltu invio atque impedito evasere: inde apertis locis  
facile tutantes agmen Romani Tannetum vicum propin-  
quum Pado contendere: ibi se munimento ad tempus  
commeatibusque fluminis et Brixianorum etiam Gallo-  
rum auxilio adversus crescentem in dies multitudinem  
hostium tutabantur. Qui tumultus repens postquam (<sup>26</sup>)  
est Romam perlatus, et Punicum insuper Gallico bellum  
auctum patres acceperunt, C. Atilium prætorem cum  
una legione Romana et quinque millibus sociorum di-  
lectu novo a consule conscriptis auxilium ferre Manlio  
jubent, qui sine ullo certamine—abscesserant enim  
metu hostes—Tannetum pervenit.

Et P. Cornelius in locum ejus, quæ missa cum præ-<sup>2</sup>  
tore erat, transcripta legione nova profectus ab urbe  
sexaginta longis navibus præter oram Etruriæ Ligu-  
rumque et inde Saluvium montes pervenit Massiliam  
et ad proximum ostium Rhodani—pluribus enim di-  
visus amnis in mare decurrit—castra locat, vixdum  
satis credens Hannibalem superasse Pyrenæos montes.  
Quem ut de Rhodani quoque transitu agitare animad-<sup>3</sup>  
vertit, incertus quonam ei loco occurreret, necdum  
satis reffectis ab jactatione maritima militibus, trecentos  
interim delectos equites ducibus Massiliensibus et  
auxiliaribus Gallis ad exploranda omnia visendosque ex  
tuto hostes præmittit. Hannibal cæteris metu aut <sup>4</sup>  
pretio pacatis jam in Volcarum pervenerat agrum gentis  
validæ: colunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani,

- sed diffisi citeriore agro arceri Pœnum posse, ut flumen pro munimento haberent, omnibus ferme suis trans Rhodanum trajectis ulteriorem ripam amnis armis obtinebant. Cæteros accolæ fluminis Hannibal et eorum ipsorum, quos sedes suæ tenuerant, simul perlicit donis ad naves undique contrahendas fabricandasque, simul et ipsi trajici exercitum levarique quam primum regionem suam tanta hominum urgente turba cupiebant. Itaque ingens coacta vis navium est lintrumque temere ad vicinalem usum paratarum : novasque alias primum Galli inchoantes cavabant ex singulis arboribus, deinde et ipsi milites simul copia materiæ simul facilitate operis inducti alveos informes, nihil, dum modo innare aquæ et capere onera possent, curantes raptim, quibus se
- (27) suaque transveherent, faciebant. Jamque omnibus satis comparatis ad trajiciendum terrebant ex adverso hostes omnem ripam equites virique obtinentes : quos ut averteret, Hannonem Bomilcaris filium vigilia prima noctis cum parte copiarum, maxime Hispanis, adverso flumine ire iter unius diei jubet et, ubi primum possit, quam occultissime trajecto amni circumducere agmen, ut, quum opus facto sit, adoriatur ab tergo hostem. Ad id dati duces Galli edocent, inde millia quinque et viginti ferme supra parvæ insulæ circumfusum amnem latiore, ubi dividebatur, eoque minus alto alveo transitum ostendere.
- 2 Ibi raptim cæsa materia ratesque fabricatæ, in quibus  
3 equi virique et alia onera trajicerentur. Hispani sine ulla mole in utres vestimentis coniectis ipsi cætris superpositis incubantes flumen tranavere : et alius exercitus ratibus junctis trajectus, castris prope flumen positus, nocturno itinere atque operis labore fessus quiete unius diei reficitur, intento duce ad consilium  
4 opportune exsequendum. Postero die profecti ex loco

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prodito fumo significant transiisse et laud procul abesse. Quod ubi accepit Hannibal, ne tempori deesset, dat signum ad trajiciendum. Jam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes lintres: eques fere propter equos nantes navium agmen ad excipiendum adversi impetum fluminis parte superiore transmittens tranquillitatem infra trajicientibus lintribus præbebat: equorum pars magna nantes loris a puppibus trahebantur præter eos, quos instratos frenatosque, ut extemplo egresso in ripam equiti usui essent, imposuerant in naves. Galli occurrant in ripam cum variis ululatibus cantuque moris sui quatientes scuta super capita vibrantesque dexteris tela, quamquam et ex adverso terrebat tanta vis navium cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore vario nantarum militum, et qui nitebantur perrumpere impetum fluminis et qui ex altera ripa trajicientes suos hortabantur. Jam satis paventes adverso tumultu terribior ab tergo 2 adortus clamor castris ab Hannone captis: mox et ipse aderat, ancepsque terror circumstabat et e navibus tanta vi armatorum in terram evadente et ab tergo improvisa premente acie. Galli postquam ultroque 3 vim facere conati pellebantur, qua patere visum maxime iter, perrumpunt trepidique in vicos passim suos diffugiunt. Hannibal cæteris copiis per otium trajectis 4 spernens jam Gallicos tumultus castra locat.

Elephantorum trajiciendorum varia consilia fuisse 5 credo, certe variata memoria actæ rei. Quidam congregatis ad ripam elephantis tradunt ferocissimum ex iis irritatum ab rectore suo, quum refugientem in aquam nantem sequeretur, traxisse gregem, ut quemque timentem altitudinem destitueret vadum, impetu ipso fluminis in alteram ripam rapiente. Cæterum magis 6 constat ratibus trajectos, id ut tutius consilium ante

rem foret, ita acta re ad fidem pronius est: ratem unam ducentos longam pedes quinquaginta latam a terra in amnem porrexerunt, quam, ne secunda aqua deferretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte superiore ripæ religatam pontis in modum humo injecta constraverunt, ut belluæ audacter velut per solum ingrederentur: altera ratis æque lata longa pedes centum, ad trajiciendum flumen apta, huic copulata est, et, quum elephanti per stabilem ratem tamquam viam prægredientibus feminis acti ubi in minorem adplicatam transgressi sunt, extemplo resolutis quibus leviter adnexa erat vinculis, ab actuariis aliquot navibus ad alteram ripam pertrahitur: ita primis expositis alii deinde repetiti ac trajecti sunt. Nihil sane trepidabant, donec continenti velut ponte agerentur: primus erat pavor, quum soluta ab cæteris rate in altum raperentur: ibi urgentes inter se cedentibus extremis ab aqua trepidationis aliquantum edebant, donec quietem ipse timor 8 circumspectantibus aquam fecisset. Excidere etiam sævientes quidam in flumen, sed pondere ipso stabiles dejectis rectoribus quærendis pedetentim vadis in terram evasere.

- (29) Dum elephanti trajiciuntur, interim Hannibal Numidas equites quingentos ad castra Romana miserat speculatum, ubi et quantæ copię essent et quid pararent. 2 Huic alæ equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab ostio Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt: prælium atrocius quam pro numero pugnantium editur: nam præter multa vulnera cædes etiam prope par utrimque fuit, fugaque et pavor Numidarum Romanis 3 jam ad modum fessis victoriam dedit. Victores ad centum sexaginta nec omnes Romani sed pars Gallo- 4 rum, victi amplius ducenti ceciderunt. Hoc princi-

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pium simul omenque belli ut summæ rerum prosperum eventum, ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit. Ut re ita gesta 5 ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec Scipioni stare sententia poterat, nisi ut ex consiliis cœptisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet: et Hannibalem incertum, utrum cœptum in Italiam intenderet iter an cum eo, qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus, manus consereret, avertit a præsentī certamine Boiorum legatorum regulique Magali adventus, qui se duces itinerum socios periculi fore adfirmantes integro bello nusquam ante libatis viribus Italiam adgrediendam censent. Multitudo timebat quidem hostem nondum oblitterata 6 memoria superioris belli, sed magis iter immensum Alpesque—rem fama utique inexpertis horrendam—metuebat.

Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit per- (30) gere ire atque Italiam petere, advocata concione varie militum versat animos castigando adhortandoque: mirari se, quinam pectora semper impavida repens terror invaserit: per tot annos vincentes eos stipendia facere neque ante Hispania excessisse quam omnes gentesque et terræ eæ, quas duo diversa maria amplectantur, Carthaginensium essent: indignatos deinde quod, quicumque Saguntum obsedissent, velut ob noxam sibi dedi postularet populus Romanus, Hiberum trajecisse ad delendum nomen Romanorum liberandumque orbem terrarum. Tum nemini visum id longum, quum ab 2 occasu solis ad exortus intenderent iter: nunc, postquam multo majorem partem itineris emensam cernant, Pyrenæum saltum inter ferocissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum tantum amnem tot millibus Gallorum prohibentibus domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi trajectum, in

conspectu Alpes habeant, quarum alterum latus Italiæ sit, in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere—quid Alpes aliud esse credentes quam montium altitudines? fingerent altiores Pyrenæi jugis —: nullas profecto terras cælum contingere nec inexsuperabiles humano generi esse: Alpes quidem habitari coli, gignere atque alere animantes: pervias paucis esse: et exercitibus —? eos ipsos, quos cernant, legatos non pennis sublime elatos Alpes transgressos: ne majores quidem eorum indigenas, sed advenas Italiæ cultores has ipsas Alpes ingentibus sæpe agminibus cum liberis ac conjugibus migrantium modo tuto transmisisse. Militi quidem armato nihil secum præter instrumenta belli portanti quid invium aut inexsuperabile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse? Romam—caput orbis terrarum—petentibus quicquam adeo asperum atque arduum videri, quod inceptum moretur? cepisse quondam Gallos ea—quæ adiri posse Pœnus desperet? proinde aut cederent animo atque virtute genti per eos dies totiens ab se victæ, aut itineris finem sperent campum interjacentem Tiberi ac mœnibus Romanis.

- (31) His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare atque ad iter se parare jubet. Postero die profectus adversa ripa Rhodani mediterranea Galliæ petit, non quia rectior ad Alpes via esset, sed quantum a mari recessisset, minus obvium fore Romanum credens, cum quo, priusquam in Italiam ventum foret, non erat in animo manus conserere. Quartis castris ad Insulam pervenit. Ibi Isara Rhodanusque amnis diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes agri aliquantum amplexi confluent in unum: mediis campis Insulæ nomen inditum: incolunt prope Allobroges, gens jam inde nulla Gallica gente opibus

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aut fama inferior. Tum discors erat: regni certamine 4  
 ambigebant fratres: major et qui prius imperitarat,  
 Brancus nomine, minore ab fratre et cœtu juniorum,  
 qui jure minus vi plus poterat, pellebatur. Hujus 5  
 seditionis peropportuna disceptatio quum ad Hanni-  
 balem rejecta esset, arbiter regni factus, quod ea se-  
 natus principumque sententia fuerat, imperium majori  
 restituit. Ob id meritum commeatu copiaque rerum 6  
 omnium maxime vestis est adjutus, quam infames fri-  
 goribus Alpes præparari cogeant. Sedatis Hannibal 7  
 certaminibus Allobrogum quum jam Alpes peteret, non  
 recta regione iter instituit sed ad lævam in Tricastinos  
 flexit, inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tendit  
 in Tricorios haud usquam impedita via, priusquam ad  
 Druentiam flumen pervenit. Is et ipse Alpinus amnis 8  
 longe omnium Galliæ fluminum difficillimus transitu est:  
 nam, quum aquæ vim vehat ingentem, non tamen navium  
 patiens est, quia nullis coercitus ripis, pluribus simul  
 neque iisdem alveis fluens, nova semper vada novosque  
 gurgites—et ob eadem pediti quoque incerta via est—  
 ad hoc saxa glareosa volvens, nihil stabile nec tutum  
 ingredienti præbet. Et tum forte imbribus auctus in- 9  
 gentem transgredientibus tumultum fecit, quum super  
 cætera trepidatione ipsi sua atque incertis clamoribus  
 turbarentur.

P. Cornelius consul triduo fere post, quam Hannibal (32),  
 a ripa Rhodani movit, quadrato agmine ad castra hos-  
 tium venerat nullam dimicandi moram factururus. Cæ- 2  
 terum ubi deserta munimenta nec facile se tantum  
 progressos adsequunturum videt, ad mare ac naves rediit,  
 tutius faciliusque ita descendenti ab Alpibus Hannibali  
 occursurus. Ne tamen nuda auxiliis Romanis Hispania 3  
 esset, quam provinciam sortitus erat, Cn. Scipionem



fratrem cum maxima parte copiarum adversus Hasdrubalem misit, non ad tuendos tantum modo veteres socios conciliandosque novos sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdrubalem: ipse cum admodum exiguis copiis Genuam repetit eo, qui circa Padum erat, exercitu Italiam defensurus.

- 4 Hannibal ab Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad Alpes cum bona pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum
- 5 pervenit. Tum, quamquam fama prius, qua incerta in majus vero ferri solent, praecepta res erat, tamen ex propinquo visa montium altitudo nivesque caelo prope immixtae, tecta informia imposita rupibus, pecora jumentaque torrida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaliaque omnia rigentia gelu, caetera visu
- 6 quam dictu foediora, terrorem renovarunt. Erigentibus in primos agmen clivos apparuerunt imminentes tumulos insidentes montani, qui, si valles occultiores insedissent, coorti ad pugnam repente ingentem fugam stragemque
- 7 dedissent. Hannibal consistere signa jussit, Gallisque ad visenda loca praemissis postquam comperit transitum ea non esse, castra inter confragosa omnia praeruptaque
- 8 quam extentissima potest valle locat. Tum per eosdem Gallos haud saepe multum lingua moribusque abhorrentes, quum se immiscuissent colloquiis montanorum, edoctus, interdum tantum obsideri saltum, nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta, luce prima subiit tumulos ut ex aperto atque interdum vim per angustias factururus.
- 9 Die deinde simulando aliud quam quod parabatur consumpto, quum eodem quo constiterant loco castra comunissent, ubi primum digressos tumulis montanos laxatasque sensit custodias, pluribus ignibus quam pro numero manentium in speciem factis impedimentisque cum equite relictis et maxima parte peditum, ipse cum

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expeditis—acerrimo quoque viro—raptim angustias evadit iisque ipsis tumultis, quos hostes tenuerant, consedit. Prima deinde luce castra mota et agmen reli- 10  
 quum incedere cœpit. Jam montani signo dato ex castellis ad stationem solitam conveniebant, quum repente conspiciunt alios arce occupata sua super caput imminentes, alios via transire hostes. Utraque simul 11  
 objecta res oculis animisque immobiles parumper eos defixit: deinde, ut trepidationem in angustis suoque ipsum tumultu misceri agmen videre, equis maxime consternatis, quidquid adjecissent ipsi terroris satis ad perniciem fore rati, perversis rupibus juxta invia ac devia adsueti decurrunt. Tum vero simul ab hostibus 12  
 simul ab iniquitate locorum Pœni oppugnabantur, plusque inter ipsos, sibi quoque tendente ut periculo prius evaderet, quam cum hostibus certaminis erat. Et equi 13  
 maxime infestum agmen faciebant, qui et clamoribus dissonis, quos nemora etiam repercussæque valles augebant, territi trepidabant, et icti forte aut vulnerati adeo consternabantur, ut stragem ingentem simul hominum ac sarcinarum omnis generis facerent. Mul- 14  
 tosque turba, quum præcipites disruptæque utrimque angustiae essent, in immensum altitudinis dejecit, quosdam et armatos: sed ruinæ maxime modo jumenta cum oneribus devolvebantur. Quæ quamquam fœda visu 15  
 erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal ac suos continuit, ne tumultum ac trepidationem augeret: deinde, postquam interrumpi agmen vidit periculumque esse ne exutum impedimentis exercitum nequiquam incolumem traduxisset, decurrit ex superiore loco et, quum impetu ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumultum auxit. Sed 16  
 is tumultus momento temporis, postquam liberata itinera fuga montanorum erant, sedatur, nec per otium

17 modo sed prope silentio mox omnes traducti. Castellum inde, quod caput ejus regionis erat, viculosque circumjectos capit, et captivo ac pecoribus per triduum exercitum aluit, et quia nec montanis primo percussis nec loco magno opere impediabantur, aliquantum eo (34) triduo viæ confecit. Perventum inde ad frequentem 2 cultoribus alium—ut inter montanos—populum. Ibi non bello aperto sed suis artibus—fraude et insidiis—3 est prope circumventus. Magno natu principes castellorum oratores ad Pœnum veniunt, alienis malis—utili exemplo—doctos memorantes amicitiam malle quam vim experiri Pœnorum, itaque obedienter imperata facturos, commeatum itinerisque duces et ad fidem pro- 4 missorum obsides acciperet. Hannibal nec temere credendum nec aspernandum ratus, ne repudiati aperte hostes fierent, benigne quum respondisset, obsidibus quos dabant acceptis et commeatu quem in viam ipsi detulerant usus, nequaquam ut inter pacatos, composito agmine duces eorum sequitur: primum agmen elephanti et equites erant, ipse post cum robore peditum 5 circumspectans sollicitusque omnia incedebat. Ubi in angustiore viam et parte altera subjectam jugo insuper imminenti ventum est, undique ex insidiis barbari a fronte ab tergo coorti comminus eminus petunt, 6 saxa ingentia in agmen devolvunt. Maxima ab tergo vis hominum urgebat: in eos versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda clades fuerit. Tunc quoque ad extremum periculi ac prope perniciem ventum est: nam dum cunctatur Hannibal dimittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equitibus præsidio erat, ita peditibus quicquam ab tergo auxilii reliquerat, occurrentes per obliqua montani interrupto medio agmine

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viam insedere, noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque impedimentis acta est. Postero die jam segnius (35) intercurrentibus barbaris junctæ copiæ saltusque haud sine clade, majore tamen jumentorum quam hominum perniciæ, superatus. Inde montani pauciores jam et latrocinii magis quam belli more concursabant modo in primum modo in novissimum agmen, utcumque aut locus opportunitatem daret aut progressi morative aliquam occasionem fecissent. Elephantis, sicut per arctas præcipites vias magna mora agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus quacumque incederent, quia insuetis adeundi propius metus erat, agmen præbebant.

Nono die in jugum Alpium perventum est per invia pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus aut, ubi fides iis non esset, temere initæ valles a conjectantibus iter faciebant. Biduum in jugo stativa habita fessisque labore ac pugnando quies data militibus: jumenta quoque aliquot, quæ prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vestigia agminis in castra pervenere. Fessis tædio tot malorum nivis etiam casus occidente jam sidere Vergiliarum ingentem terrorem adjecit. Per omnia nive oppleta quum signis prima luce motis segniter agmen incederet, pigritiaque et desperatio in omnium vultu emineret, prægressus signa Hannibal in promontorio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere jussis militibus Italiam ostentat subjectosque Alpibus montibus Circumpadanos campos, mœniaque eos tum transcendere non Italiæ modo sed etiam urbis Romanæ; cætera plana proclivia fore, uno aut summum altero prælio arcem et caput Italiæ in manu ac potestate habituros. Procedere inde agmen cœpit, jam nihil ne hostibus quidem præter parva furta per occasionem temptantibus. Cæterum iter multo quam in ascensu

fuerat, ut pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut breviora ita  
10 arrectiora sunt, difficilior fuit. Omnis enim ferme via  
præceps angusta lubrica erat, ut neque sustinere se a  
lapsu possent, nec, qui paulum titubassent, hædere ad-  
flicti vestigio suo, alique super alios et jumenta et  
(36) homines occiderent. Ventum deinde ad multo angus-  
tiorum rupem atque ita rectis saxis, ut ægre expeditus  
miles temptabundus manibusque retinens virgulta ac  
2 stirpes circa eminentes demittere sese posset. Natura  
locus jam ante præceps recenti lapsu terræ in pedum  
mille admodum altitudinem abruptus erat. Ibi velut  
ad finem viæ equites quum constitissent, miranti Hanni-  
bali, quæ res moraretur agmen, nuntiatur rupem inviam  
3 esse. Digressus deinde ipse ad locum visendum: haud  
dubia res visa quin per invia circa nec trita antea quam-  
4 vis longo ambitu circumduceret agmen. Ea vero via  
insuperabilis fuit: nam quum super veterem nivem  
intactam nova modicæ altitudinis esset, molli nec præ-  
altæ facile pedes ingredientium insistebant: ut vero tot  
hominum jumentorumque incessu dilapsa est, per nudam  
infra glaciem fluentemque tabem liquescentis nivis in-  
5 grediebantur. Tetra ibi luctatio erat ut a lubrica glacie  
non recipiente vestigium et in prono citius pedes fal-  
lente, ut, seu manibus in adsurgendo seu genu se adju-  
vissent, ipsis adminiculis prolapsis iterum corruerent:  
nec stirpes circa radicesve, ad quas pede aut manu  
quisquam eniti posset, erant, ita in levi tantum glacie  
6 tabidaque nive volutabantur. Jumenta secabant inter-  
dum etiam tamen infimam ingredientia nivem, et pro-  
lapsa jactandis gravius in connitendo ungulis penitus  
perfringebant, ut pleraque velut pedica capta hærerent  
(37) in dura et alta concreta glacie. Tandem nequiquam  
jumentis atque hominibus fatigatis castra in jugo posita,

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ægerime ad id ipsum loco purgato, tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit. Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via esse poterat, milites ducti, quum cædendum esset saxum, arboribus circa inmanibus dejectis detruncatisque struem ingentem lignorum faciunt, eamque, quum et vis venti apta faciundo igni coorta esset, succendunt, ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt. Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt molliuntque anfractibus modicis clivos, ut non jumenta solum sed elephantum etiam deduci possent. Quadriduum circa rupem consumptum jumentis prope fame absumptis: nuda enim fere cacumina sunt et, si quid est pabuli, obruunt nives: inferiora valles apricos quosdam colles habent, rivosque prope silvas et jam humano cultu digniora loca: ibi jumenta in pabulum missa et quies muniendo fessis hominibus data triduo. Inde ad planum descensum et jam locis mollioribus et accolarum ingeniis.

Hoc maxime modo in Italiam perventum est, quinto mense a Carthagine nova, ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. Quanta copiam transgresso in Italiam Hannibali fuerint, nequaquam inter auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum millia peditum viginti equitum fuisse scribunt: qui minimum, viginti millia peditum, sex equitum. L. Cincius Alimentus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime auctor moveret, nisi confunderet numerum Gallis Liguribusque additis: cum his octoginta millia peditum, decem equitum adducta: — in Italia magis adfluxisse veri simile est, et ita quidam auctores sunt —: ex ipso autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex millia hominum ingentemque numerum equorum et aliorum jumentorum amisisse,

4 E Taurinis, quæ Galliæ proxima gens erat, in Italiam digressum quum inter omnes constet, eo magis miror ambigi, quam Alpes transierit, et vulgo credere Pœnino—atque inde nomen et jugo Alpium inditum—transgressum, Cœlium per Cremonis jugum dicere transisse: qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos sed per Salassos montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxerint: nec veri simile est ea tum ad Galliam patuisse itinera, utique quæ ad Pœninum ferunt obsæpta gentibus semi-germanis fuissent: neque hercule montibus his, si quem forte id movet, ab transitu Pœnorum ullo Seduni Veragri, incolæ jugi ejus, norint nomen inditum, sed ab eo quem in summo sacratum vertice Pœninum montani appellant.

- (39) Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinis, proximæ 2 genti, adversus Insubres motum bellum erat. Sed armare exercitum Hannibal, ut parti alteri auxilio esset, in reficiendo maxime sentientem contracta ante mala, non poterat: otium enim ex labore, copia ex inopia, cultus ex illuvie tabeque squalida et prope efferata corpora varie movebat. Ea P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, quum Pisas navibus venisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone et in novis ignominiis trepido, ad Padum festinandi, ut cum hoste nondum refecto manûs consereret. Sed quum Placentiam consul venit, jam ex stativis moverat Hannibal Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis ejus, quia volentis in amicitiam non veniebat, vi expugnarat, et junxisset sibi non metu solum sed etiam voluntate Gallos accolas Padi, ni eos circumspectantes defectionis tempus subito adventus 3 consulis oppressisset. Et Hannibal movit ex Taurinis, incertos, quæ pars sequenda esset, Gallos præsentem tuturos ratus. Jam prope in conspectu erant exerci-

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tus, convenerantque duces sic uti inter se non dum satis noti, ita jam imbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. Nam Hannibalis et apud Romanos jam ante 4 Sagunti excidium celeberrimum nomen erat, et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso, quod adversus se dux potissimum lectus esset, præstantem virum credebat. Et 5 auxerant inter se opinionem, Scipio, quod relictus in Gallia obvius fuerat in Italiam transgresso Hannibali, Hannibal et conatu tam audaci trajiciendarum Alpium et effectu.

Occupavit tamen Scipio Padum trajicere, et ad 6 Ticinum amnem motis castris, priusquam educeret in aciem, adhortandorum militum causa talem orationem est exorsus: "Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in (40) aciem, quem in Gallia mecum habui, supersedissem loqui apud vos: quid enim adhortari referret aut eos equites, qui equitatum hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie vicissent, aut eas legiones, cum quibus fugientem hunc ipsum hostem sequutus confessionem cedentis ac detractantis certamen pro victoria habui? nunc, quia ille exercitus Hispaniæ provinciæ scriptus ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis auspiciis rem gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populusque Romanus voluit, ego, ut consulem ducem adversus Hannibalem ac Pœnos haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario certamini obtuli, novo imperatori apud novos milites pauca verba facienda sunt. Ne genus belli neve hostem ignoretis, cum his 2 est vobis, milites, pugnandum, quos terra marique priore bello vicistis, a quibus stipendium per viginti annos exegistis, a quibus capta belli præmia Siciliam ac Sardiniam habetis. Erit igitur in hoc certamine is 3 vobis illisque animus, qui victoribus et victis esse solet. Nec nunc illi, quia audent sed quia necesse est, pugna-



turi sunt, nisi creditis, qui exercitu incolumi pugnam detractavere, eos duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis, quum plures pæne perierint  
 4 quam supersint, plus spei nactos esse. At enim pauci quidem sunt sed vigentes animis corporibusque, quorum robora ac vires vix sustinere vis ulla possit — : effigies, immo umbræ hominum, fame frigore illuvie squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque: ad hoc præusti artus, nive rigentes nervi, membra torrida gelu, quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi: cum hoc equite cum hoc pedito pugnaturi estis, reli-  
 5 quias extremas hostium non hostem habebitis. Ac nihil magis vereor quam ne cui, vos quum pugnaveritis, Alpes vicisse Hannibalem videantur: sed ita forsitan decuit, cum fœderum ruptore duce ac populo deos ipsos sine ulla humana ópe committere ac profligare bellum, nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus, commissum ac  
 (41) profligatum conficere. Non vereor ne quis me hæc vestri adhortandi causa magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo adfectum esse: licuit in Hispaniam provinciam meam, quo jam profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem consilii participem ac periculi socium haberem, et Hasdrubalem potius quam Hannibalem hostem, et minorem haud dubie molem belli: tamen, quum præterveherer navibus Galliæ oram, ad famam hujus hostis in terram egressus præmisso equitatu ad Rhodanum movi castra. Equestri prælio, qua parte copiarum conserendi manum fortuna data est, hostem fudi: peditum agmen, quod in modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia adsequi terra non poteram neque regressus ad naves erat, quanta maxime potui celeritate tanto maris terrarumque circuitu in radicibus  
 2 prope Alpium huic timendo hosti obvius fui. Utrum,

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quum declinarem certamen, improvisus incidisse videor an occurrere in vestigiis ejus, lacessere ac trahere ad discernendum? experiri juvat, utrum alios repente Carthaginienses per viginti annos terra ediderit an iidem sint, qui ad Ægates pugnaverint insulas et quos ab Eryce duodevicens denariis æstimos emisistis: et utrum Hannibal hic sit æmulus itinerum Herculis, ut ipse fert, an vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus populi Romani a patre relictus: quem nisi Saguntinum scelus agigaret, respiceret profecto, si non patriam victam, domum certe patremque et fœdera Hamilcaris scripta manu, qui jussus ab consule nostro præsidium deduxit ab Eryce, qui graves impositas victis Carthaginensibus leges fremens mærensque accepit, qui decedens Sicilia stipendium populo Romano dare pactus est. Itaque **3** vos ego, milites, non eo solum animo quo adversus alios hostes soletis pugnare velim, sed cum indignatione quadam atque ira, velut si servos videatis vestros arma repente contra vos ferentes. Licuit ad Erycem clausos **4** ultimo supplicio humanorum fame interficere, licuit victricem classem in Africam trajicere atque intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine Carthaginem delere—: veniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus ex obsidione, pacem cum victis fecimus, tutelæ deinde nostræ duximus, quum Africo bello urgerentur—: pro his impertitis furiosum juvenem sequentes oppugnatum patriam nostram veniunt. Atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc vobis **5** et non pro salute esset certamen! non de possessione Siciliæ ac Sardiniae, de quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia vobis est pugnandum: nec est alius ab tergo exercitus, qui, nisi nos vincimus, hosti obsistat, nec Alpes aliæ sunt, quas dum superant, comparari nova possint præsidia. Hic est obstandum, milites, velut **6**

si ante Romana mœnia pugnemus. Unus quisque se non corpus suum sed conjugem ac liberos parvos armis protegere putet, nec domesticas solum agitet curas sed identidem hoc animo reputet, nostras nunc intueri manus senatum populumque Romanum, qualis nostra vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis  
 (42) ac Romanis imperii fore." Hæc apud Romanos consul.

Hannibal rebus prius quam verbis adhortandos milites ratus, circumdato ad spectaculum exercitu captivos montanos vinctos in medio statuit, armisque Gallicis ante pedes eorum projectis interrogare interpretem jussit, ecquis, si vinculis levaretur armaque et equum victor acciperet, decertare ferro vellet. Quum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque poscerent et dejecta in id sors esset, se quisque eum optabat quem fortuna in id certamen legeret, et, cujusque sors exciderat, alacer inter gratulantes gaudio exsultans cum sui moris tripudiis arma raptim capiebat. Ubi vero dimicarent, is habitus animorum non inter ejusdem modo conditionis homines erat sed etiam inter spectantes vulgo, ut non vincantium magis quam bene morientium fortuna laudaretur.  
 (43) Dum sic aliquot spectatis paribus adfectos dimisisset, concione inde advocata ita apud eos loquutus fertur: "Si, quem animum in alienæ sortis exemplo paulo ante habuistis, eundem mox in æstimanda fortuna vestra habueritis, vicimus, milites. Neque enim spectaculum modo illud sed quædam veluti imago vestræ conditionis erat. Ac nescio an majora vincula majoresque necessitates vobis quam captivis vestris fortuna circumdederit: dextra lævaque duo maria claudunt nullam ne ad effugium quidem navem habentibus, contra Padus amnis—major Padus ac violentior Rhodano—, ab tergo Alpes urgent vix integris vobis ac vigentibus transitæ;

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hic vincendum aut moriendum, milites, est, ubi primum  
hosti occurristis. Et eadem fortuna, quæ necessitatem 4  
pugnandi imposuit, præmia vobis ea victoribus pro-  
ponit, quibus ampliora homines ne ab diis quidem  
immortalibus optare solent. Si Siciliam tantum ac 5  
Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas nostra virtute  
recuperaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pretia essent:  
quidquid Romani tot triumphis partum congestumque  
possident, id omne vestrum cum ipsis dominis futurum  
est. In hanc tam opimam mercedem agite cum diis 6  
bene juvantibus arma capite. Satis adhuc in vastis 7  
Lusitaniæ Celtiberiæque montibus pecora consecrando  
nullum emolumentum tot laborum periculorumque ves-  
trorum vidistis: tempus est jam opulenta vos ac ditia  
stipendia facere et magna operæ pretia mereri, tantum  
itineris per tot montes fluminaque et tot armatas gentes  
emensos. Hic vobis terminum laborum fortuna dedit, 8  
hic dignam mercedem emeritis stipendiis dabit. Nec  
quam magni nominis bellum est, tam difficilem existi-  
maritis victoriam fore: sæpe et contemptus hostis  
cruentum certamen edidit, et inclyti populi regesque  
perlevi momento victi sunt: nam dempto hoc uno  
fulgore nominis Romani quid est cur illi vobis compa-  
randi sint? ut viginti annorum militiam vestram cum  
illa virtute cum illa fortuna taceam, ab Herculis colum-  
nis ab Oceano terminisque ultimis terrarum per tot  
ferocissimos Hispaniæ et Galliæ populos vincentes huc  
pervenistis: pugnabitis cum exercitu tirone, hac ipsa  
æstate cæso victo circumssesso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc  
duci suo ignorantique ducem. An me in prætorio 9  
patris clarissimi imperatoris prope natum, certe educ-  
tum, domitorem Hispaniæ Galliæque, victorem eundem  
non Alpinarum modo gentium sed ipsarum—quod multo

majus est—Alpium, cum semenstri hoc conferam duce, desertore exercitus sui? cui si quis demptis signis Pœnos Romanosque hodie ostendat, ignoraturum certum habeo, utrius exercitus sit consul. Non ego illud parvi æstimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum, cujus non ante oculos ipse sæpe militare aliquod ediderim facinus, cui non idem ego virtutis spectator ac testis notata temporibus locisque referre sua possim decora.

- 11 Cum laudatis a me milliens donatisque, alumnus prius omnium vestrum quam imperator, procedam in aciem  
(44) adversus ignotos inter se ignorantesque. Quocumque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia video animorum ac roboris, veteranum peditem, generosissimarum gentium equites frenatos infrenatosque, vos socios fidelissimos fortissimosque, vos Carthaginienses quum ob patriam  
2 tum ob iram justissimam pugnaturos. Inferimus bellum infestisque signis descendimus in Italiam, tanto audacius fortiusque pugnaturi quam hostis, quanto major spes major est animus inferentis vim quam ar-  
3 centis. Accendit præter ea et stimulat animos dolor injuria indignitas: ad supplicium depoposcerunt me ducem primum deinde vos omnes qui Saguntum oppugnassetis, deditos ultimis cruciatibus adfecturi fuerunt.  
4 Crudelissima ac superbissima gens sua omnia sui que arbitrii facit: cum quibus bellum, cum quibus pacem habeamus, se modum imponere æquum censet: circumscribit includitque nos terminis montium fluminumque, quos non excedamus, neque eos quos statuit  
5 terminos observat. Ne transieris Hiberum, ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis! ad Hiberum est Saguntum: nusquam te vestigio moveris! parum est quod vetterrimas provincias meas Siciliam ac Sardiniam adimis? etiam Hispanias? et inde cessero: in Africam tran-

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scendes. Transcendes autem dico? duos consules hujus anni, unum in Africam alterum in Hispaniam miserunt. Nihil usquam nobis relictum est nisi quod armis vindicaremus. Illis timidis et ignavis esse licet, qui respectum habent, quod sua terra suus ager per tuta ac pacata itinera fugientes accipient: vobis necesse est fortibus viris esse et omnibus inter victoriam mortemve certa desperatione abruptis aut vincere aut, si fortuna dubitabit, in prælio potius quam in fuga mortem oppetere. Si hoc bene fixum omnibus destinatum 7 in animo est, iterum dicam, vicistis: nullum enim telum ad vincendum homini ab diis immortalibus acrius datum est."

Lis adhortationibus quum utrimque ad certamen accensi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum jungunt tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper imponunt, Pœnus hostibus opere occupatis Maharbalem cum ala Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad depopulandos sociorum populi Romani agros mittit, Gallis parci quam maxime jubet principumque animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque millia passuum a Victumulis consedit. Ibi Hannibal castra habebat, revocatoque propere Maharbali atque equitibus, quum instare certamen cerneret, nihil umquam satis dictum præmonitumque ad cohortandos milites ratus, vocatis ad concionem certa præmia pronuntiat, in quorum spem pugnarent: agrum sese daturum esse in Italia, Africa, Hispania, ubi quisque velit, immunem ipsi qui accepisset liberisque: qui pecuniam quam agrum maluisset, ei se argento satisfacturum: qui sociorum cives Carthaginienses fieri vellent, potestatem factorum: qui domos redire mallent, daturum se operam ne

cujus suorum popularium mutatam secum fortunam esse vellent: servis quoque dominos prosequutis libertatem proponit binaque pro his mancipia dominis se 3 redditurum. Eaque ut rata scirent fore, agnum læva manu dextera silicem retinens, si falleret, Jovem cæterosque precatus deos, ita se mactarent quemadmodum ipse agnum mactasset, et secundum precationem caput 4 pccudis saxo elisit. Tum vero omnes—velut diis auctoribus in spem suam quisque acceptis—id moræ quod nondum pugnarent ad potienda sperata rati, prælium (46) uno animo et voce una poscunt. Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat super cætera recentibus etiam territos prodigiis: nam et lupus intraverat castra laniatisque obviis ipse intactus evaserat, et examen 2 apum in arbore prætorio imminente consederat. Quibus procuratis Scipio cum equitatu jaculatoribusque expeditis profectus ad castra hostium exque propinquo copias, quantæ et cujus generis essent, speculandas, obvius fit Hannibali et ipsi cum equitibus ad explo- 3 randa circa loca progresso. Neutri alteros primo cernebant, densior deinde incessu tot hominum equorumque oriens pulvis signum propinquantium hostium 4 fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen et ad prælium sese expediebant: Scipio jaculatores et Gallos equites in fronte locat, Romanos sociorumque quod roboris fuit in subsidiis: Hannibal frenatos equites in medium 5 accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum clamore sublato jaculatores fugerunt inter subsidia ad secundam aciem: inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu anceps: dein, quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti, multis labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus ubi suos premi circumventos vidissent, jam magna ex parte ad pedes pugna iverat, donec Numidæ, qui in cornibus

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erant, circumvecti paulum ab tergo se ostenderunt. Is pavor perculit Romanos, auxitque pavorem consulis 6  
vulnus periculumque intercurso tum primum pube-  
scentis filii propulsatum. Hic erit juvenis penes quem 7  
perfecti hujusce belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam  
victoriam de Hannibale Pœnisque appellatus. Fuga 8  
tamen effusa jaculatorum maxime fuit, quos primos  
Numidæ invaserunt: alius confertus equitatus con-  
sulem in medium acceptum non armis modo sed etiam  
corporibus suis protegens in castra nusquam trepide  
neque effuse cedendo reduxit. Servati consulis decus 9  
Cœlius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat: malim  
equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere  
auctores et fama obtinuit.

Hoc primum cum Hannibale prælium fuit, quo facile (47)  
apparuit et equitatu meliorem Pœnum esse, et ob id  
campos patentes, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque,  
bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse. Itaque prox- 2  
ima nocte jussis militibus vasa silentio colligere castra  
ab Ticino mota festinatumque ad Padum est, ut rati-  
bus, quibus junxerat flumen, nondum resolutis, sine  
tumultu atque insectatione hostis copias trajiceret.  
Prius Placentiam pervenere quam satis sciret Hannibal 3  
ab Ticino profectos: tamen ad sexcentos moratorum  
in citeriore ripa Padi segniter ratem solventes cepit.  
Transire pontem non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant, 4  
tota rate in secundam aquam labente. Cœlius auctor 5  
est Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis peditibus flu-  
men extemplo transnasse, ipsum Hannibalem per su-  
periora Padi vada exercitum traduxisse elephantis in  
ordinem ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis.  
Ea peritis amnis ejus vix fidem fecerint, nam neque 6  
equites armis equisque salvis tantam vim fluminis su-



perasse veri simile est, ut jam Hispanos omnes inflati  
 travexerint utres, et multorum dierum circuitu Padi  
 vada petenda fuerint, qua exercitus gravis impedimentis  
 traduci posset: potiores apud me auctores sunt, qui  
 biduo vix locum rate jungendo flumini inventum tra-  
 dunt, ea cum Magone equites Hispanorum expeditos  
 7 præmissos. Dum Hannibal, circa flumen legationibus  
 Gallorum audiendis moratus, trajicit gravius peditum  
 agmen, interim Mago equitesque ab transitu fluminis  
 diei unius itinere Placentiam ad hostes contendunt.  
 8 Hannibal paucis post diebus sex millia a Placentia cas-  
 tra communit, et postero die in conspectu hostium  
 acie directa potestatem pugnae fecit.

- (48) Insequenti nocte caedes in castris Romanis, tumultu  
 tamen quam re major, ab auxiliariis Gallis facta est.  
 2 Ad duo millia peditum et ducenti equites vigilibus ad  
 portas trucidatis ad Hannibalem transfugiunt, quos  
 Pœnus benigne adloquutus et spe ingentium donorum  
 accensos in civitates quemque suas ad sollicitandos po-  
 3 pularium animos dimisit. Scipio caedem eam signum  
 defectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus contactosque  
 eo scelere velut injecta rabie ad arma ituros, quam-  
 quam gravis adhuc vulnere erat, tamen quarta vigilia  
 noctis insequentis tacito agmine profectus ad Trebiam  
 fluvium jam in loca altiora collesque impeditiores equiti  
 4 castra movet. Minus quam ad Ticinum fefellit, mis-  
 sisque Hannibal primum Numidis deinde omni equitatu  
 turbasset utique novissimum agmen, ni aviditate prædæ  
 5 in vacua Romana castra Numidæ devertissent. Ibi  
 dum perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum nullo satis  
 digno moræ pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis est de  
 manibus, et quum jam transgressos Trebiam Romanos  
 metantesque castra conspexissent, paucos moratorum

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occiderunt citra flumen interceptos. Scipio nec vexa- 6  
 tionem vulneris in via jactanti ultra patiens et collegam  
 —jam enim et revocatum ex Sicilia audierat—ratus  
 exspectandum, locum, qui prope flumen tutissimus sta-  
 tivis est visus, delectum communiit. Nec procul inde 7  
 Hannibal quum consedisset, quantum victoria equestri  
 elatus, tantum anxius inopia, quæ per hostium agros  
 euntem nusquam præparatis com meatibus major in dies  
 excipiebat, ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum frumenti  
 numerum congesserant Romani, mittit. Ibi quum vim 8  
 pararent, spes facta proditiōis, nec sane magno pretio  
 nummis aureis quadringentis Dasio Brundisino præfecto  
 præsidii corrupto, traditur Hannibali Clastidium. Id 9  
 horreum fuit Pœnis sedentibus ad Trebiam. In cap-  
 tivos ex tradito præsidio, ut fama clementiæ in prin-  
 cipio rerum colligeretur, nihil sævitum est.

Quum ad Trebiam terrestre constitisset bellum, (49)  
 interim circa Siciliam insulasque Italiæ imminentes et  
 a Sempronio consule et ante adventum ejus terra mari-  
 que res gestæ. Viginti quinqueres cum mille ar- 2  
 matis ad depopulandam oram Italiæ a Carthaginensibus  
 missæ, novem Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani tenu-  
 runt, tres in fretum avertit æstus. Ad eas conspectas 3  
 a Messana duodecim naves ab Hierone rege Syracu-  
 sanorum missæ, qui tum forte Messanæ erat consulem  
 Romanum opperiens, nullo repugnante captas naves  
 Messanam in portum deduxerunt. Cognitum ex cap- 4  
 tivis, præter viginti naves, cujus ipsi classis essent, in  
 Italiam missas quinque et triginta alias quinqueres  
 Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos veteres socios: Lilybæi  
 occupandi præcipuam curam esse: credere eadem tem-  
 pestate, qua ipsi disjecti forent, eam quoque classem  
 ad Ægates insulas dejectam. Hæc sicut audita erant 5

rex M. Æmilio prætori, cujus Sicilia provincia erat, præscribit, monetque ut Lilybæum firmo teneret præsidio. Extemplo et circa prætorem ad civitates missi legati tribunique: suos ad curam custodiæ intenderent, ante omnia Lilybæum teneri, ad paratum belli edicto proposito ut socii navales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad naves deferrent, et, ubi signum datum esset, ne quis moram conscendendi faceret, perque omnem oram qui ex speculis prospicerent adventantem hostium classem.

7 Simul itaque, quamquam de industria morati cursum navium erant Carthaginienses ut ante lucem accederent Lilybæum, præsensum tamen est, quia et luna pernox erat et sublatis armamentis veniebant, extemplo signum datum ex speculis et in oppido ad arma conclamatum

8 est et in naves consensum. Pars militum in muris portarumque in stationibus, pars in navibus erant. Et Carthaginienses, quia rem fore haud cum imparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se abstinerunt, demendis armamentis eo tempore aptandaque ad pugnam

9 classe absumpto. Ubi illuxit, recipere classem in altum, ut spatium pugnæ esset exitumque liberum e portu

10 naves hostium haberent. Nec Romani detractavere pugnam et memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum

(50) freti et militum multitudine ac virtute. Ubi in altum evecti sunt, Romanus conserere pugnam et ex propinquo vires conferre velle: contra eludere Pœnus, et arte non vi rem gerere, naviumque quam virorum aut armorum

2 malle certamen facere. Nam ut sociis navalibus adfatim instructam classem, ita inopem milite habebant, et, sicubi conserta navis esset, haudquaquam par numerus armatorum ex ea pugnabat. Quod ubi animadversum est, et Romanis multitudo sua auxit animum et paucitas illis minuit: extemplo septem naves Punicæ circumventæ,

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fugam cæteræ ceperunt. Mille et septingenti fuere in 4  
navibus captis milites nautæque, in his tres nobiles  
Carthaginiensium. Classis Romana incolumis, una tan- 5  
tum perforata navi sed ea quoque ipsa reduce, in por-  
tum rediit.

Secundum hanc pugnam—nondum gnaris ejus qui 6  
Messanæ erant—Tib. Sempronius consul Messanam  
venit. Ei fretum intranti rex Hiero classem armatam 7  
ornatamque obviam duxit, transgressusque ex regia in  
prætoriam navem gratulatus sospitem cum exercitu et  
navibus advenisse, precatusque prosperum ac felicem in  
Siciliam transitum: statum deinde insulæ et Cartha-  
giniensium conata exposuit pollicitusque est, ut quo  
animo priore bello populum Romanum juvenis adju-  
visset, eo senem adjuturum, frumentum vestimenta-  
que sese legionibus consulis sociisque navalibus gratis præ-  
biturum: grande periculum Lilybæo maritimisque civi-  
tatibus esse et quibusdam volentibus novas res fore.  
Ob hæc consuli nihil cunctandum visum, quin Lilybæum 8  
classe peteret: et rex regiaeque classis una profecti.  
Navigantes inde pugnatum ad Lilybæum fusasque et 9  
captas hostium naves accipere. A Lilybæo consul (51)  
Hierone cum classe regia dimisso relictoque prætore ad  
tuendam Siciliæ oram ipse in insulam Melitam, quæ a  
Carthaginiensibus tenebatur, trajecit: advenienti Ha-  
milcar Gisgonis filius præfectus præsidii cum paulo minus  
duobus millibus militum oppidumque cum insula tradi-  
tur. Inde post paucos dies reditum Lilybæum, captivi- 2  
que et a consule et a prætore præter insignes nobilitate  
viros sub corona venierunt. Postquam ab ea parte satis 3  
tutam Siciliam censebat consul, ad insulas Vulcani,  
quia fama erat stare ibi Punicam classem, trajecit, nec  
quisquam hostium circa eas insulas inventus: jam forte

transmiserant ad vastandam Italise oram, depopulatoque

- 4 Viboniensi agro urbem etiam terrebant. Repetenti Siciliam consuli exscensio hostium in agrum Viboniensem facta nuntiatur, litteræque ab senatu de transitu in Italiam Hannibalis et ut primo quoque tempore collegæ  
5 ferret auxilium missæ traduntur. Multis simul anxius curis exercitum extemplo in naves impositum Ariminum supero mari misit, Sexto Pomponio legato cum viginti quinque longis navibus Viboniensem agrum maritimamque oram Italise tuendam adtribuit, M. Emilio  
6 prætori quinquaginta navium classem explevit. Ipse compositis Siciliæ rebus decem navibus oram Italise legens Ariminum pervenit: inde cum exercitu suo profectus ad Trebiam flumen collegæ conjungitur.

- (52) Jam ambo consules et quidquid Romanarum virum erat Hannibali oppositum aut illis copiis defendi posse Romanum imperium aut spem nullam aliam esse satis  
2 declarabat. Tamen consul alter equestri prælio uno et vulnere suo minutus trahi rem malebat: recentis animi  
3 alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur. Quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est Galli tum incolebant, in duorum præpotentium populorum certamine per ambiguum favorem haud dubie gratiam victoris spectantes. Id Romani, modo ne quid moverint, æquo  
4 satis, Pœnus periniquo animo ferebat, ab Gallis accitum  
5 se venisse ad liberandos eos dictitans. Ob eam iram simul ut præda militem aleret, duo millia peditum et mille equites Numidas plerosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem deinceps agrum usque ad Padi  
6 ripas jussit. Egentes ope Galli, quum ad id dubios servassent animos, coacti ab auctoribus injuriæ ad vindices futuros declinant, legatisque ad consulem missis auxilium Romanorum terræ ob nimiam cultorum fidem

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in Romanos laboranti orant. Cornelio nec causa nec 7  
 tempus agendæ rei placebat, suspectaque ei gens erat  
 quum ob infida multa facinora, tum, ut alia vetustate  
 obsolevisent, ob recentem Boiorum perfidiam: Sem-  
 pronius contra continendis in fide sociis maximum vin-  
 culum esse primos quosque qui eguissent ope defensos  
 censebat. Tum collega cunctante equitatum suum mille 8  
 peditum jaculatoribus ferme admixtis ad defendendum  
 Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam mittit. Sparsos et in- 9  
 compositos ad hoc graves præda plerosque quum in-  
 opinatos invasissent, ingentem terrorem cædemque ac  
 fugam usque ad castra stationesque hostium fecere,  
 unde multitudine effusa pulsus rursus subsidio suorum  
 prælium restituere: varia inde pugna sequentes ceden-  
 tesque quum ad extremum æquassent certamen, major  
 tamen quam hostium Romanis fama victoriæ fuit.

Cæterum nemini omnium major justiorque quam ipsi (53)  
 consuli videri: gaudio efferri, qua parte copiarum alter  
 consul victus foret, ea se vicisse: restitutos ac refectos  
 militibus animos, nec quemquam esse præter collegam  
 qui dilatam dimicationem vellet: eum animo magis  
 quam corpore ægrum memoria vulneris aciem ac tela  
 horrere: sed non esse cum ægro senescendum: quid  
 enim ultra differri aut teri tempus? quem tertium  
 consulem, quem alium exercitum expectari? castra 2  
 Carthaginensium in Italia ac prope in conspectu urbis  
 esse: non Siciliam ac Sardiniam victis ademptas nec  
 cis Hiberum Hispaniam peti sed solo patrio terraque,  
 in qua geniti forent, pelli Romanos. "Quantum ingemi-  
 scant" inquit "patres nostri circa mœnia Carthaginis  
 bellare soliti, si videant nos, progeniem suam, duos  
 consules consularesque exercitus, in media Italia pa-  
 ventes intra castra, Pœnum, quod inter Alpes Apenni-

- numque agri sit, suæ ditionis fecisse!" hæc adsidens ægro collegæ, hæc in prætorio prope concionabundus agere. Stimulabat et tempus propinquum comitiorum ne in novos consules bellum differretur, et occasio in se unum vertendæ gloriæ, dum æger collega erat: itaque nequiquam dissentiente Cornelio parari ad propinquum certamen milites jubet.
- 4 Hannibal quum, quid optimum foret hosti, cerneret, vix ullam spem habebat temere atque improvide quicquam consules acturos. Quum alterius ingenium, fama prius deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox sciret esse, ferociusque factum prospero cum prædatoribus suis certamine crederet, adesse gerendæ rei fortunam
- 6 haud diffidebat. Cujus ne quod prætermitteret tempus, sollicitus intentusque erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset, dum meliorem ex ducibus inutilem vulnus faceret, dum Gallorum animi vigerent, quorum ingentem multitudinem sciebat segnius sequuturam, quanto longius
- 7 ab domo traherentur. Quum ob hæc taliaque speraret propinquum certamen, et facere, si cessaretur, cuperet, speculatoresque Galli—ad ea exploranda, quæ vellent, tutiores, quia in utriusque castris militabant—paratos pugnæ esse Romanos retulissent, locum insidiis circum-
- (54) spectare Pœnus cœpit. Erat in medio rivus peraltis utrimque clausus ripis et circa obsitus palustribus herbis et, quibus inculta ferme vestiuntur, virgultis vepribusque. Quem ubi equites quoque tegendo satis latebrosus locum circumvectus ipse oculis perlustravit, "Hic erit locus" Magoni fratri ait "quem teneas: delige centenos viros ex omni pedite atque equite, cum quibus ad me vigilia prima venias: nunc corpora curare
- 8 tempus est." Ita prætorium missum. Mox cum delectis Mago aderat. "Robora virorum cerno," inquit

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Hannibal: "sed ut et numero etiam non animis modo valeatis, singulis vobis novenos ex turmis manipulisque vestri similes eligite: Mago locum monstrabit quem insideatis: hostem cæcum ad has belli artes habetis." Ita mille equitibus Magoni mille peditibus dimissis, 4 Hannibal prima luce Numidas equites transgressos Trebiam flumen obequitare jubet hostium portis jaculandoque in stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem, injecto deinde certamine cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere. Hæc mandata Numidis: cæteris ducibus 5 peditum equitumque præceptum ut prandere omnes juberent, armatos deinde instratisque equis signum expectare.

Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem 6 equitatum—ferox ea parte virium—deinde sex millia peditum, postremo omnes copias ad destinatum jam ante consilio avidus certaminis eduxit. Erat forte 7 brumæ tempus et nivalis dies in locis Alpibus Apenninoque interjectis, propinquitatem etiam fluminum ac paludium prægelidis. Ad hoc raptim eductis hominibus 8 atque equis, non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcendum frigus adhibita, nihil caloris inerat, et quidquid auræ fluminis adpropinquabant, adflabat acrior frigoris vis: ut vero refugientes Numidas insequentes aquam ingressi sunt—et erat pectoribus tenus aucta nocturno imbri—tum utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora, ut vix armorum tenendorum potentia essent, et simul lassitudine et procedente jam die fame etiam deficere. Hannibalis interim miles ignibus ante ten- (55) toria factis oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso, et cibo per otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostes nuntiatum est, alacer animis corporibusque arma capit atque in aciem procedit. Baleares locat ante



signa, levem armaturam, octo ferme millia hominum, dein graviores armis peditum, quod virum quod roboris 3 erat. In cornibus circumfudit decem millia equitum, et ab cornibus in utramque partem divisos elephantos 4 statuit. Consul effusos sequentes equites, quum ab resistentibus subito Numidis incauti exciperentur, signo receptui dato revocatos circumdedit peditibus: duodeviginti millia Romani erant, socium nominis Latini viginti, auxilia præter ea Cenomanorum: ea sola in 5 fide manserat Gallica gens. Iis copiis concursus est. Prælium a Balearibus ortum est: quibus quum majore robore legiones obsisterent, deductæ propere in cornua leves armaturæ sunt, quæ res efficit ut equitatus Romanus extemplo urgeretur: nam quum vix jam per se resisterent decem millibus equitum quattuor millia et fessi integris plerisque, obruti sunt insuper velut nube jaculorum a Balearibus conjecta: ad hoc elephantum eminentes ab extremis cornibus, equis maxime non visu modo sed odore insolito territis, fugam late faciebant. 6 Pedestris pugna par animis magis quam viribus erat, quas recentes Pœnus paulo ante curatis corporibus in prælium adtulerat: contra jejuna fessaque corpora 7 Romanis et rigentia gelu torpebant. Restitissent tamen animis, si cum peditum solum foret pugnatum: sed et Baleares pulso equite jaculabantur in latera et elephantum jam in mediam peditum aciem sese tulerant, et Mago Numidæque, simul latebras eorum improvida præterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumultum 8 ac terrorem fecere. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis mansit aliquamdiu immota acies, maxime præter spem omnium adversus elephantos: eos velites ad id ipsum locati verrutis conjectis et avertere et insequuti aversos sub caudis, qua maxime molli cute vulnera accipiunt,

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fodiebant: trepidantesque et prope jam in suos con- (56)  
sternatos media acie in extremam ad sinistrum cornu  
adversus Gallos auxiliares agi jussit Hannibal: ii ex-  
templo haud dubiam fecere fugam, quo novus terror  
additus Romanis, ut fusa auxilia sua viderunt. Itaque 2  
quum jam in orbem pugnarent, decem millia ferme  
hominum, quum alia evadere nequissent, media Afrorum  
acie, quæ Gallicis auxiliis firmata erat, cum ingenti  
cæde hostium perrupere: et quum neque in castra  
reditus esset flumine interclusis, neque præ imbri satis  
decernere possent qua suis opem ferrent, Placentiam  
recto itinere perrexere. Plures deinde in omnes partes 3  
eruptiones factæ, et qui flumen petiere aut gurgitibus  
absumpti sunt aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi ab  
hostibus oppressi, qui passim per agros fuga sparsi  
crant, vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis Placentiam  
contendere: aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi  
flumen fecit transgressique in castra pervenerunt. Im- 4  
ber nive mixtus et intoleranda vis frigoris et homines  
multos et jumenta et elephantos prope omnes absump-  
sit. Finis insequendi hostis Pœnis flumen Trebia fuit, 5  
et ita torpentes gelu in castra rediere, ut vix lætitiā  
victoriæ sentirent: itaque nocte insequenti, quum præ-  
sidium castrorum et quod reliquum ex magna parte  
militum erat ratibus Trebiam trajicerent, aut nihil sen-  
sere obstrepente pluvia aut, quia jam moveri nequibant  
præ lassitudine ac vulneribus, sentire sese dissimula-  
runt, quietisque Pœnis tacito agmine ab Scipione con-  
sule exercitus Placentiam est perductus, inde Pado  
trajectus Cremonam, ne duorum exercituum hibernis  
una colonia premeretur.

Romam tantus terror ex hac clade perlatus est, ut (57)  
jam ad urbem Romanam crederent infestis signis hos-

- tem venturum, nec quicquam spei aut auxilii esse, qua portis mœnibusque vim arcerent: uno consule ad Ticinum victo, altero ex Sicilia revocato duobus consulibus duobus consularibus exercitibus victis—quos alios duces,
- 2 quas alias legiones esse quæ arcessantur? ita territis Sempronius consul advenit, ingenti periculo per effusos passim ad prædandum hostium equites, audacia magis quam consilio aut spe fallendi resistendive, si non
- 3 falleret, transgressus. Id quod unum maxime in præsentia desiderabatur, comitiis consularibus habitis in hiberna rediit: creati consules Cn. Servilius et C. Flaminius.
- 4 Cæterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieta erant, vagantibus passim Numidis equitibus et, quæque iis impeditiora erant, Celtiberis Lusitanisque: omnes igitur undique clausi commeatus erant nisi quos Pado naves
- 5 subveherent. Emporium prope Placentiam fuit et opere magno munitum et valido firmatum præsidio: ejus castelli expugnandi spe cum equitibus ac levi armatura profectus Hannibal, quum plurimum in celando incepto ad effectum spei habuisset, nocte adortus non fefellit vigiles: tantus repente clamor est sublatus ut Placentiæ quoque audiretur: itaque sub lucem cum equitatu consul aderat jussis quadrato agmine legio-
- 6 nibus sequi. Equestre interim prælium commissum, in quo quia saucius Hannibal pugna excessit, pavore
- 7 hostibus injecto defensum egregie præsidium est. Paucorum inde dierum quiete sumpta et vixdum satis percurato vulnere ad Victumvias oppugnandas ire pergit.
- 8 Id emporium Romanis Gallico hello fuerat munitum, inde locum frequentaverant accolæ mixti undique ex finitimis populis, et tum terror populationum eo ple-
- 9 rosque ex agris compulerat. Hujus generis multitudo

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fama impigre defensi ad Placentiam præsidii accensa armis arreptis obviam Hannibali procedit. Magis ag- 10  
mina quam acies in via concurrerunt, et, quum ex  
altera parte nihil præter inconditam turbam esset, in  
altera et dux militi et duci miles fidens, ad triginta  
quinque millia hominum a paucis fusa. Postero die 11  
deditione facta præsidium intra moenia acceperere, jussi-  
que arma tradere quum dicto paruissent, signum re-  
pente victoribus datur ut tamquam vi captam urbem  
diriperent: neque ulla, quæ in tali re memorabilis  
scribentibus videri solet, prætermissa clades est, adeo  
omnis libidinis crudelitatisque et inhumanæ superbæ  
editum in miseros exemplum est. Hæ fuere hibernæ 12  
expeditiones Hannibalis.

Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia frigora (58)  
erant, quies militi data est, et ad prima ac dubia signa  
veris profectus ex hibernis in Etruriam ducit, eam  
quoque gentem sicut Gallos Liguresque aut vi aut  
voluntate adjuncturus. Transeuntem Apenninum adeo 2  
atrox adorta tempestas est, ut Alpium prope fœditatem  
superaverit. Vento mixtus imber quum ferretur in ipsa  
ora, primo, quia aut arma omittenda erant aut contra  
enitentes vertice intorti adfligebantur, constitere, dein,  
quum jam spiritum includeret nec reciprocare animam  
sineret, aversi a vento parumper consedere. Tum vero 3  
ingenti sono cœlum strepere et inter horrendos fra-  
gores micare ignes: captis auribus et oculis metu  
omnes torpere: tandem effuso imbrey quum eo magis  
accensa vis venti esset, ipso illo quo deprensi erant  
loco castra ponere necessarium visum est. Id vero 4  
laboris velut de integro initium fuit: nam nec expli-  
care quicquam nec statuere poterant, nec quod sta-  
tutum esset manebat, omnia perscindente vento et

5 rapiente. Et mox aqua levata vento, quum super  
gelida montium juga concreta esset, tantum nivossæ  
grandinis dejecit, ut omnibus omissis procumberent  
homines tegminibus suis magis obruti quam tecti:  
tantaque vis frigoris insequuta est, ut ex illa miserabili  
hominum jumentorumque strage quum se quisque ex-  
tollere ac levare vellet, diu nequiret, quia torrentibus  
rigore nervis vix flectere artus poterant: deinde, ut  
tandem agitando sese movere ac recipere animos et  
6 que inops tendere. Biduum eo loco velut obsessi man-  
sere: multi homines, multa jumenta, elephantique quoque  
ex iis, qui prælio ad Trebiam facto superfuerant, septem  
absumpti.

- (59) Digressus Apennino retro ad Placentiam castra mo-  
vit et ad decem millia progressus consedit: postero  
die duodecim millia peditum quinque equitum adversus  
2 hostem ducit. Nec Sempronius consul—jam enim re-  
dierat ab Roma—detractavit certamen: atque eo die  
3 tria millia passuum inter bina castra fuere. Postero die  
4 ingentibus animis vario eventu pugnatum est. Primo  
concursu adeo res Romana superior fuit, ut non acie  
vincerent solum sed pulsos hostes in castra persequen-  
5 rentur, mox castra quoque oppugnarent. Hannibal  
paucis propugnatoribus in vallo portisque positis cæ-  
teros confertos in media castra recepit intentosque  
6 signum ad erumpendum spectare jubet. Jam nona  
ferme diei hora erat, quum Romanus nequicquam fatis-  
gato milite, postquam nulla spes erat potiundi castris,  
7 signum receptui dedit. Quod ubi Hannibal accepit  
laxatamque pugnam et recessum a castris vidit, exem-  
plo equitibus dextra lævaque emissis in hostem ipse  
8 cum peditum robore mediis castris erupit. Pugna raro

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magis ulla ea aut utriusque partis perniciē clarior fuisset, si extendi eam dies in longum spatium sivillet: nox accensum ingentibus animis proelium diremit. Ita-9 que acrior concursus fuit quam cædes, et sicut æquata ferme pugna erat, ita clade pari discessum est. Ab 10 neutra parte sexcentis plus peditibus et dimidium ejus equitum cecidit: sed major Romanis quam pro numero jactura fuit, quia equestris ordinis aliquot et tribuni militum quinque et præfecti sociorum tres sunt interfecti. Secundum eam pugnam Hannibal in Ligures, 11 Sempronius Lucam concessit. Venienti in Ligures 12 Hannibali per insidias intercepti duo quæstores Romani, C. Fulvius et L. Lucretius, cum duobus tribunis militum et quinque equestris ordinis senatorum ferme liberis, quo magis ratam fore cum iis pacem societatemque crederet, traduntur.

Dum hæc in Italia geruntur, Cn. Cornelius Scipio in (60) Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus quum ab ostio Rhodani profectus Pyrenæosque montes circumvectus Emporiis adpulisset classem, exposito ibi exercitu, orsus a Lacetanis omnem oram usque ad Hiberum flumen partim renovandis societatibus partim novis instituendis Romanæ ditionis fecit. Inde conciliata lenitatis cle-2 mentiæque fama non ad maritimos modo populos sed in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis ad ferociore jam gentes valuit, nec pax modo apud eos sed societas etiam armorum parata est, validæque aliquot auxiliorum cohortes ex iis conscriptæ sunt. Hannonis cis Hiberum 3 provincia erat: eum reliquerat Hannibal ad regionis ejus præsidium: itaque, priusquam alienarentur omnia, obviam eundum ratus castris in conspectu hostium positis in aciem eduxit. Nec Romano differendum 4 certamen visum, quippe qui sciret cum Hannone et

Hasdrubale sibi dimicandum esse, malletque adversus singulos separatim quam adversus duos simul rem gerere. Nec magni certaminis ea dimicatio fuit: sex millia hostium cæsa, duo capta cum præsidio castrorum: nam et castra expugnata sunt atque ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur, et Scissis propinquum castris oppidum expugnatur. Cæterum præda oppidi parvi pretii rerum fuit, supellex barbarica ac vilium mancipiorum: castra militem ditavere non ejus modo exercitus qui victus erat, sed et ejus qui cum Hannibale in Italia militabat, omnibus fere caris rebus, ne gravia impedimenta ferentibus essent, citra Pyrenæum relictis.

- (61) Priusquam certa hujus cladis fama accideret, transgressus Hiberum Hasdrubal cum octo millibus peditum mille equitum tamquam ad primum adventum Romanorum occursurus, postquam perditas res ad Scissim amissaque castra accepit, iter ad mare convertit. Haud procul Tarracone classicos milites navalesque socios vagos palantesque per agros, quod ferme fit ut secundæ res negligentiam creent, equite passim dimisso cum magna cæde majore fuga ad naves compellit. Neo diutius circa ea loca morari ausus, ne ab Scipione opprimeretur, trans Hiberum sese recepit. Et Scipio raptim ad famam novorum hostium agmine acto, quum in paucos præfectos navium animadvertisset, præsidio Tarracone modico relicto Emporia cum classe rediit. Vixdum digresso eo Hasdrubal aderat, et Ilergetum populo, qui obsides Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem impulso, cum eorum ipsorum juventute agros fidelium Romanis sociorum vastat: excito deinde Scipione hi bernis toto cis Hiberum rursus cedit agro. Scipio relictam ab auctore defectionis Ilergetum gentem cum infesto exercitu invasisset, compulsis omnibus Atana-

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grum urbem, quæ caput ejus populi erat, circumscedit, intraque dies paucos, pluribus quam ante obsidibus imperatis, Pergetes pecunia etiam multatos in jus ditionemque recepit. Inde in Ausetanos prope Hiberum, 7 socios et ipsos Pœnorum, procedit, atque urbe eorum obsessa Lacetanos auxilium finitimis ferentes nocte haud procul jam urbe, quum intrare vellent, excepit insidiis: cæsa ad duodecim millia, exuti prope omnes armis domos passim palantes per agros diffugere. Nec 8 obsessos alia ulla res quam iniqua oppugnantibus hiems tutabatur: triginta dies obsidio fuit, per quos raro umquam nix minus quatuor pedes alta jacuit: adeoque pluteos ac vineas Romanorum operuerat, ut ea sola ignibus aliquotiens coniectis ab hoste etiam tutamentum fuerit. Postremo, quum Amusicus princeps eorum ad 9 Hasdrubalem profugisset, viginti argenti talentis pacti deduntur. Tarraconem in hiberna reditum est.

Romæ aut circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia facta (62) aut, quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem animis, multa nuntiata et temere credita sunt: in quîs ingenuum infantem semenstrem in foro olitorio triumphum clamasse, et foveo bovario bovem in tertiam contignationem sua sponte escendisse atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum sese dejecisse, et navium speciem de cœlo adfulsisse, et ædem Spei, quæ est in foro olitorio, fulmine ictam, et Lanuvii hastam se commovisse et corvum in ædem Junonis devolasse atque in ipso pulvinario consedissee, et in agro Amiternino multis locis hominum specie procul candida veste visos nec cum ullo congressos, et in Piceno lapidibus pluvisse, et Cære sortes extenuatas, et in Gallia lupum vigili gladium ex vagina raptum abstulisse. Ob cætera prodigia libros 2 adire decenviri jussi: quod autem lapidibus pluvisset in Piceno, novemdiale sacrum edictum, et subinde aliis



8 procurandis prope tota civitas operata fuit. Jam primum omnium urbs lustrata est, hostiæque majores quibus editum est Diis cæsæ, et donum ex auri pondo quadraginta Lanuvium ad Junonis portatum est, et signum æneum matronæ Junoni in Aventino dedicaverunt, et lectisternium Cære, ubi sortes adtenuatæ erant, imperatum, et supplicatio Fortunæ in Algido: Romæ quoque et lectisternium Juventati et supplicatio ad ædem Herculis nominatim, deinde universo populo circa omnia pulvinaria indicta, et Genio majores hostiæ cæsæ quinque, et C. Atilius Serranus prætor vota suscipere jussus, si in decem annos res publica eodem stetitisset statu. Hæc procurata vota ex libris Sibyllinis magna ex parte levaverant religione animos.

- (63) Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui hæc legiones quæ Placentiæ hibernabant sorte evenerant, edictum et litteras ad consulem misit ut is exercitus 2 idibus Martiis Arimini adesset in castris. Huic in provincia consulatum inire consilium erat, memori veterum certaminum cum patribus, quæ tribunus plebis et quæ postea consul prius de consulatu qui abrogabatur dein de triumpho habuerat: invisus etiam patribus ob novam legem, quam Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adversus senatum atque uno patrum adjuvante C. Flaminio tulerat, ne quis senator cuive senator pater fuisset 3 maritimam navem, quæ plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos: quæstus omnis patribus indecorus 4 visus. Res per summam contentionem acta invidiam apud nobilitatem suasori legis Flaminio, favorem apud 5 plebem alterumque inde consulatum peperit. Ob hæc ratus auspiciis ementiendis Latinarumque feriarum mora et consularibus aliis impedimentis retenturos se in urbe, 6 simulato itinere privatus clam in provinciam abiit. Ea

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res ubi palam facta est, novam insuper iram infestis jam ante patribus movit: non cum senatu modo sed jam cum diis immortalibus C. Flaminium bellum gerere: consulem ante inauspicato factum revocantibus ex ipsa acie diis atque hominibus non paruisse, nunc conscientia spretorum et Capitolium et sollemnem votorum nuncupationem fugisse, ne die initi magistratus Jovis optimi maximi templum adiret, ne senatum invisus ipse et sibi uni invisum videret consuleretque, ne Latinas indiceret Jovique Latiori sollemne sacrum in monte faceret, ne auspicato profectus in Capitolium ad vota nuncupanda, paludatus inde cum lictoribus in provinciam iret: lixæ modo sine insignibus sine lictoribus profectum clam furtim, haud aliter quam si exilii causa solum vertisset: magis pro majestate videlicet imperii Arimini quam Romæ magistratum initurum et in diversorio hospitali quam apud penates suos prætextam sumpturum. Revocandum universi retrahendumque censuerunt et cogendum omnibus prius præsentem in deos hominesque fungi officiis quam ad exercitum et in provinciam iret. In eam legationem—<sup>8</sup> legatos enim mitti placuit—Q. Terentius et M. Antistius profecti nihilo magis eum moverunt quam priore consulatu litteræ moverant ab senatu missæ: paucos post dies magistratum iniit, immolantique ei vitulus jam ictus e manibus sacrificantium sese quum propinquisset, multos circumstantes cruore respersit: fuga procul etiam major apud ignaros, quid trepidaretur, et concursatio fuit: id a plerisque in omen magni terroris acceptum. Legionibus inde duabus a Sempronio prioris anni consule duabus a C. Atilio prætore acceptis in Etruriam per Apennini tramites exercitus duci est <sup>9</sup>ceptus.

TITI LIVII  
AB URBE CONDITA  
HISTORIARUM.

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LIBER XXII.

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- 1) JAM ver adpetebat, quum Hannibal ex hibernis movit, et nequiquam ante conatus transcendere Apen-  
ninum intolerandis frigoribus et cum ingenti periculo  
2 moratus ac metu. Galli, quos prædæ populationumque conciverat spes, postquam pro eo, ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse premique utriusque partis exercituum hibernis videre, verterunt retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia: petitusque sæpe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem levitate qua consenserant consensum indicantium, servatus erat, et mutando nunc vestem nunc tegumenta capitis errore etiam sese ab insidiis munierat.
- 3 Cæterum hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius movendi ex hibernis.
- 4 Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romæ idibus  
5 Martiis magistratum iniit. Ibi quum de re publica rettulisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est: duos se consules creasse, unum habere:—quod enip illi justum imperium, quod auspiciū esse? magistratus id a domo—publicis privatisque penatibus—Latinis

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feriis actis sacrificio in monte perfecto votis rite in Capitolio nuncupatis secum ferre: nec privatum auspicia sequi nec sine auspiciis profectum in externo ea solo nova atque integra concipere posse. Augebant<sup>6</sup> metum prodigia ex pluribus simul locis nuntiata: in Sicilia militibus aliquot spicula, in Sardinia autem in muro circumeunti vigilas equiti scipionem, quem manu tenuerat, arsisse, et litora crebris ignibus fulsisse, et scuta duo sanguine sudasse, et milites quosdam ictos fulminibus, et solis orbem minui visum: et Præneste ardentes lapides cœlo cecidisse, et Arpis parmas in cœlo visas pugnantemque cum luna solem, et Capenæ duas interdiu lunas ortas, et aquas Cæretes sanguine mixtas fluxisse fontemque ipsum Herculis cruentis manasse respersum maculis, et Antii metentibus cruentas in corbem spicas cecidisse, et Faleriis cœlum findi velut magno hiatu visum, quaque patuerit, ingens lumen effulsisse, sortes sua sponte adtenuatas unamque excidisse ita scriptam "Mavors telum suum concutit:" et per idem tempus Romæ signum Martis Appia via ac simulacra luporum sudasse, et Capuæ speciem cœli ardentis fuisse lunæque inter imbrem cadentis. Inde<sup>7</sup> minoribus etiam dictu prodigiis fides habita: capras lanatas quibusdam factas, et gallinam in marem, gallum in feminam sese vertisse. Iis sicut erant nuntiata ex<sup>8</sup> positis auctoribusque in curiam introductis consul de religione patres consuluit: decretum ut ea prodigia partim majoribus hostiis partim lactentibus procurarentur et uti supplicatio per triduum ad omnia pulvinaria haberetur: cætera, quum decemviri libros inspexissent, ut ita fierent, quemadmodum cordi esse divis carminibus præfarentur. Decemvirorum monitu decretum est,<sup>9</sup> Jovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta

fieret, Junoni Minervæque ex argento dona darentur, et Junoni reginæ in Aventino Junonique Sospitæ Lanuvii majoribus hostiis sacrificaretur, matronæque pecunia collata, quantum conferre cuique commodum esset, donum Junoni reginæ in Aventinum ferrent lectisterniumque fieret, quin et ut libertinæ et ipsæ—unde Feroniæ donum daretur—pecuniam pro facultatibus suis conferrent: hæc ubi facta, decemviri Ardeæ in foro majoribus hostiis sacrificarunt: postremo Decembri jam mense ad ædem Saturni Romæ immolatum est lectisterniumque imperatum—et eum lectum senatores straverunt—et convivium publicum, ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata, populusque eum diem festum habere ac servare in perpetuum jussus.

- (2) Dum consul placandis Romæ dīs habendoque dilectu dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, quia jam Flaminium consulem Arretium prævenisse fama erat, quum aliud longius cæterum commodius ostenderetur iter, propiorem viam per paludem petit, qua fluvius 2 Arnus per eos dies solito magis inundaverat. Hispanos et Afros et omne veterani robur exercitus admixtis ipsorum impedimentis, necubi consistere coactis necessaria ad usus deessent, primos ire jussit, sequi Gallos ut id agminis medium esset, novissimos ire equites, Magonem inde cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen, maxime Gallos, si tædio laboris longæque viæ—ut est mollis ad talia gens—dilaberentur aut subsisterent, cohibentem. Primi, qua modo præirent duces, per præaltas fluvii ac profundas voragines hausti pæne limo immergentesque se tamen signa sequebantur: Galli neque sustinere se prolapsi neque adsurgere ex voraginibus poterant, aut corpora animis aut animos spe sustinebant, alii fessa ægre trahentes membra, alii, ubi

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semel victis tædio animis procubuissent, inter jumenta et ipsa jacentia passim morientes. Maximeque omnium 4 vigilis conficiebant per quadriduum jam et tres noctes toleratæ. Quum omnia obtinentibus aquis nihil, ubi in sicco fessa sternerent corpora, inveniri posset, cumulatis in aquas sarcinis insuper incumbabant: jumentorum itinere toto prostratorum passim acervi tantum, quod exstaret aqua, quærentibus ad quietem parvi temporis necessarium cubile dabant. Ipse Hannibal, æger oculis 6 ex verna primum intemperie variante calores frigoraque, elephanto, qui unus superfuerat—quo altius ab aqua exstaret—vectus, vigiliis tamen et nocturno humore palustrique cœlo gravante caput et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat altero oculo capitur.

Multis hominibus jumentisque fœde amissis quum (3) tandem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit, castra locat, certumque per præmissos exploratores habuit exercitum Romanum circa Arretii mœnia esse. Consulis deinde consilia atque animum et situm 2 regionum itineraque et copias ad commeatus expediendos et cætera, quæ cognosse in rem erat, summa omnia cum cura inquirendo exsequebatur. Regio erat in primis 3 Italiæ fertilis, Etrusci campi, qui Fæsulas inter Arretiumque jacent, frumenti ac pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulenti. Consul ferox ab consulatu priore 4 et non modo legum aut patrum majestatis sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens: hanc insitam ingenio ejus temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicisque rebus successu aluerat: itaque satis apparebat nec deos nec homines consulentem ferociter omnia ac præpropere acturum. Quoque pronior esset in vitia sua, 5 agitare eum atque irritare Pœnus parat, et læva relicto hoste Fæsulas petens medio Etruriæ agro prædatum

profectus, quantam maximam vastitatem potest, cæ-  
 6 dibus incendiisque consuli procul ostendit. Flaminius,  
 qui nec quieto quidem hoste ipse quieturus erat, tum  
 vero, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos  
 ferri agique vidit, suum id dedecus ratus per mediam  
 jam Italiam vagari Pœnum atque obsistente nullo ad  
 ipsa Romana mœnia ire oppugnanda, cæteris omnibus  
 in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa suadentibus—  
 collegam exspectandum ut conjunctis exercitibus com-  
 muni animo consilioque rem gererent, interim equitatu  
 auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa prædandi licentia  
 hostem cohibendum—, iratus se ex consilio proripuit  
 signumque simul itineris pugnaeque proposuit: “Quin  
 immo Arretii ante mœnia sedeamus” inquit, “hic enim  
 patria et penates sunt: Hannibal emissus e manibus  
 perpopuletur Italiam vastandoque et urendo omnia ad  
 Romana mœnia perveniat, nec ante nos hinc moverimus  
 quam sicut olim Camillum ab Veiiis C. Flaminium ab  
 7 Arretio patres acciverint?” hæc simul increpans quum  
 ocius signa convelli juberet et ipse in equum insiluisset,  
 equus repente corruit consulemque lapsum super caput  
 8 effudit. Territis omnibus qui circa erant velut fœdo  
 omine incipiendæ rei insuper nuntiatur, signum omni  
 9 vi moliente signifero convelli nequire. Conversus ad  
 nuntium “Num litteras quoque” inquit “ab senatu  
 adfers, quæ me rem gerere vetent? abi, nuntia, effo-  
 diant signum, si ad convellendum manus præ metu  
 10 obtorpuerit.” Incedere inde agmen cœpit, primoribus  
 —superquam quod dissenserant ab consilio—territis  
 etiam duplici prodigio, milite in vulgus læto ferocia  
 ducis, quum spem magis ipsam quam causam spei in-  
 taeretur.

“Hannibal quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Tra-

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sumennumque lacum omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum injurias acuat. Et jam pervenerant ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime 2 montes Cortonenses Trasumennus subit: via tantum interest perangusta velut ad id ipsum de industria relicto spatio: deinde paulo latior patescit campus, inde colles adsurgunt. Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse 3 cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret: Baleares cæteramque levem armaturam post montes circumducit, equites ad ipsas fauces saltus tumulis apte tegentibus locat, ut, ubi intrassent Romani, objecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

Flaminius quum pridie solis occasu ad lacum per-4 venisset, inexplorato postero die vixdum satis certa luce angustiis superatis, postquam in patientiorem campum pandi agmen cœpit, id tantum hostium quod ex adverso erat conspexit: ab tergo ac super caput decerpere insidiæ. Pœnus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum 5 lacu ac montibus et circumfusus suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omnibus dat simul invadendi. Qui 6 ubi qua cuique proximum fuit decucurrerunt, eo magis Romanis subita atque improvisa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucurrerant. Ro-7 manus clamore prius undique orto quam satis cerneret, se circumventum esse sensit, et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari cœptum est quam satis instrueretur acies aut expediri arma stringique gladii possent. Consul (5) percussis omnibus ipse satis ut in re trepida impavidus turbatos ordines—vertente se quoque ad dissonos clamores—instruit ut tempus locusque patitur, et, quacumque adire audirique potest, adhortatur ac stare ac



- pugnare jubet: nec enim inde votis aut imploratione deum sed vi ac virtute evadendum esse: per medias acies ferro viam fieri et, quo timoris minus sit, eo minus ferme periculi esse. Cæterum præ strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat, tantumque aberat ut sua signa atque ordines et locum noscerent, ut vix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnae competeret animus opprimerenturque quidam onerati magis his quam tecti. Et erat in tanta caligine major usus aurium quam oculorum: ad gemitus vulnerum ictusque corporum aut armorum et mixtos strepentium paventiumque clamores circumferebant ora oculosque: alii fugientes pugnantium globo illati hærebant, alios redeuntes in pugnam avertebat fugientium agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnes partes nequicquam impetus capti, et ab lateribus montes ac lacus a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebat, apparuitque nullam nisi in dextera ferroque salutis spem esse, tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam et nova de integro exorta pugna est—non illa ordinata per principes hastatosque ac triarios, nec ut pro signis antesignani post signa alia pugnaret acies, nec ut in sua legione miles aut cohorte aut manipulo esset: fors conglobat et animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat: tantusque fuit ardor armorum, adeo intentus pugnae animus, ut eum motum terræ, qui multarum urbium Italiæ magnas partes prostravit avertitque cursu rapidos amnes, mare fluminibus invexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.
- (6) Tres ferme horas pugnatum est et ubique atrociter. Circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est: eum et robora virorum sequebantur, et ipse, quacumque in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, impigre fere-

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bat opem: insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant et tuebantur cives, donec Insuber eques— Ducario nomen erat—facie quoque noscicans consulem “En” inquit “hic est” popularibus suis, “qui legiones nostras cecidit agrosque et urbem est depopulatus! jam ego hanc victimam Manibus peremptorum fœde civium dabo:” subditisque calcaribus equo per confer-tissimam hostium turbam impetum facit, obtruncato-que prius armigero, qui se infesto venienti obviam objecerat, consulem lancea transfixit: spoliare cupien-tem triarii objectis scutis arcuere. Magnæ partis fuga 2 inde primum cœpit: et jam nec lacus nec montes pavori obstabant: per omnia arcta præruptaque velut cæci evadunt, armaque et viri super alium alii præci-pitantur. Pars magna, ubi locus fugæ deest, per prima 3 vada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus hu-merisque exstare possunt, sese immergunt: fuere, quos inconsultus pavor nando etiam capessere fugam im-pulerit, quæ ubi immensa ac sine spe erat, aut deficien-tibus animis hauriebantur gurgitibus, aut nequicquam fessi vada retro ægerrime repetebant, atque ibi ab in-gressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur. Sex millia ferme primi agminis per adversos hostes erup- 4 tione impigre facta, ignari omnium quæ post se age-rentur, ex saltu evasere, et quum in tumultu quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum au-dientes, quæ fortuna pugnæ esset, neque scire nec perspicere præ caligine poterant. Inclinata denique 5 re quum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida jam luce montes campique perditas res stratamque ostendere fœde Romanam aciem. Ita 6 que, ne in conspectos procul immitteretur eques, sub-latis raptim signis quam citatissimo poterant agmine

7 sese abripuerunt. Postero die quum super cætera extrema fames etiam instaret, fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte consequutus erat, si arma tradidissent abire cum singulis vestimentis passurum, sese dediderunt: quæ Punica religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes conjecit.

- (7) Hæc est nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna atque inter  
 2 paucas memorata populi Romani clades. Quindecim millia Romanorum in acie cæsa sunt: decem millia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam diversis itineribus urbem petiere: duo millia quingenti hostium in acie,  
 3 multi post ea utrimque ex vulneribus periire. Multiplex cædes utrimque facta traditur ab aliis: ego, præterquam quod nihil auctum ex vano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium æqualem temporibus hujusce belli potissimum auctorem  
 4 habui. Hannibal captivorum, qui Latini nominis essent, sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis corpora suorum quum sepeliri jussisset, Flamini quoque corpus funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum non invenit.  
 5 Romæ ad primum nuntium cladis ejus cum ingenti terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus: matronæ vagæ per vias, quæ repens clades adlata quæve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percunctantur: et quum frequentis concionis modo turba in comitium et curiam versa magistratus vocaret, tandem haud multo ante solis occasum M. Pomponius prætor "Pugna" inquit "magna victi sumus:" et quamquam nihil certius ex eo auditum est, tamen alius ab alio impleti rumoribus domos referunt, consulem cum magna parte copiarum cæsum, superesse paucos aut fuga passim per

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Etruriam sparsos aut captos ab hoste. Quot casus 6 exercitus victi fuerant, tot in curas dispersi animi eorum erant, quorum propinqui sub C. Flamini consule meruerant, ignorantium, quæ cujusque suorum fortuna esset: nec quisquam satis certum habet, quid aut speret aut timeat. Postero ac deinceps aliquot 7 diebus ad portas major prope mulierum quam virorum multitudo stetit, aut suorum aliquem aut nuntios de iis opperiens: circumfundebanturque obviis sciscitantes neque avelli utique ab notis prius quam ordine omnia inquisissent poterant. Inde varios vultus digredientium 8 ab nuntiis cerneret, ut cuique læta aut tristia nuntiabantur, gratulantesque aut consolantes redeuntibus domos circumfusos. Feminarum præcipue et gaudia insignia 9 erant et luctus: unam in ipsa porta sospiti filio repente oblatam in conspectu ejus exspirasse ferunt, alteram, cui mors filii falso nuntiata erat, mæstam sedentem domi ad primum conspectum redeuntis filii gaudio nimio exanimatam. Senatum prætores per dies aliquot 10 ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent, consultantes, quonam duce aut copiis quibus resisti victoribus Pœnis posset.

Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia (8) nuntiatur clades, quattuor millia equitum cum C. Centenio proprætore missa ad collegam ab Servilio consule in Umbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasumennum auditam averterant iter, ab Hannibale circumventa. Ejus rei 2 fama varie homines adfecit: pars occupatis majore ægritudine animis levem ex comparatione priorum ducere recentem equitum jacturam, pars non id quod acciderat per se æstimare, sed ut in adfecto corpore quamvis levis causa magis quam valido gravior sentiretur, ita tum ægræ et adfectæ civitati quodcumque

adversi inciderit, non rerum magnitudine sed viribus extenuatis, quæ nihil quod adgravaret pati possent, æstimandum esse. Itaque ad remedium jam diu neque desideratum nec adhibitum, dictatorem dicendum, civitas confugit: et quia et consul aberat, a quo uno dici posse videbatur, nec per occupatam armis Punicis Italiam facile erat aut nuntium aut litteras mitti, nec dictatorem populus creare poterat, quod numquam ante eam diem factum erat, prodictorem populus creavit Q. Fabium Maximum et magistrum equitum M. Minucium Rufum: hisque negotium ab senatu datum ut muros turresque urbis firmarent et præsidia disponerent quibus locis videretur, pontesque rescinderent fluminum: pro urbe ac penetibus dimicandum esse, quando Italiam tueri nequissent.

- (9) Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque ad Spoletium venit. Inde quum perpopulato agro urbem oppugnare adortus esset, cum magna cæde suorum repulsus, conjectans ex unius coloniæ haud nimis prospere temptatæ viribus, quanta moles Romanæ urbis esset, in agrum Picenum avertit iter non copia solum omnis generis frugum abundantem sed refertum præda, quam effuse avidi atque egentes rapiebant. Ibi per dies aliquot stativa habita refectusque miles hibernis itineribus ac palustri via prælioque magis ad eventum secundo quam levi aut facili adfectus. Ubi satis quieti datum præda ac populationibus magis quam otio aut requie gaudentibus, profectus Prætutianum Hadrianum agrum, Marsos inde Marrucinosque et Pelignos devastat circaque Arpos et Luceriam proximam Apuliæ regionem.
- 5 Cn. Servilius consul levibus præliis cum Gallis actis et uno oppido ignobili expugnato postquam de collegæ exercitusque cæde audivit, jam mœnibus patriæ me-

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tuens, ne abesset in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit.

Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum, quo die magis-6  
 tratum iniit vocato senatu, ab diis orsus, quum edo-  
 cuisset patres plus negligentia cærimoniarum auspicio-  
 rumque quam temeritate atque inscitia peccatum a  
 G. Flaminio consule esse, quæque piacula iræ deûm  
 essent ipsos deos consulendos esse, pervicit ut, quod  
 non ferme decernitur nisi quum tetra prodigia nuntiata  
 sunt, decemviri libros Sibyllinos adire juberentur. Qui 7  
 inspectis fatalibus libris rettulerunt patribus, quod ejus  
 belli causa votum Marti foret, id non rite factum de  
 integro atque amplius faciundum esse, et Jovi ludos  
 magnos et ædes Veneri Erycinæ ac Menti vovendas  
 esse, et supplicationem lectisterniumque habendum et  
 ver sacrum vovendum, si bellatum prospere esset resque  
 publica in eodem quo ante bellum fuisset statu perman-  
 sisset. Senatus, quoniam Fabium belli cura occupatura 8  
 esset, M. Æmilium prætorem ex collegii pontificum  
 sententia omnia ea ut mature fiant, curare jubet. His (10)  
 senatus consultis perfectis L. Cornelius Lentulus pon-  
 tifex maximus consulente collegio prætorum omnium  
 primum populum consulendum de vere sacro censet,  
 injussu populi voveri non posse. Rogatus in hæc verba 2  
 populus: "Velitis jubeatisne hæc sic fieri? si res publica  
 populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum,  
 sicut velim eam, sic salva servata erit hisce duellis—  
 quod duellum populo Romano cum Carthaginiensi est  
 quæque duella cum Gallis sunt quive cis Alpes sunt—,  
 datum donum duit populus Romanus Quiritium, quod  
 ver adtulerit ex suillo oville caprino bovillo grege  
 quæque profana erunt, Jovi fieri ex qua die senatus  
 populusque jusserit: qui faciet, quando volet quaque

lege volet, facito : quo modo faxit, probe factum esto : si id moritur quod fieri oportebit, profanum esto neque scelus esto : si quis rumpet occidetve insciens, nè fraus esto : si quis clepset, ne populo scelus esto neve cui cleptum erit : si atro die faxit insciens, probe factum esto : si nocte sive luce, si servus sive liber faxit, probe factum esto : si ante id ea senatus populusque jusserit fieri ac faxit, eo populus solutus liber esto." Ejusdem rei causa ludi magni voti æris trecentis triginta tribus millibus trecentis triginta tribus triente, præter ea bubus Jovi trecentis, multis aliis divis bubus albis atque cæteris hostiis. Votis rite nuncupatis supplicatio edicta, supplicatumque iere cum conjugibus ac liberis non urbana multitudo tantum sed agrestium etiam, quos in aliqua sua fortuna publica quoque contingebat cura.

Tum lectisternium per triduum habitum decemviris sacrorum curantibus : sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt, Jovi ac Junoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervæ, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianæ, quintum Vulcano ac Vestæ, sextum Mercurio et Cereri. Tum ædes votæ : Veneri Erycinæ ædem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator vovit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris edictum erat, ut is voveret cujus maximum imperium in civitate esset. Menti ædem T. Otacilius prætor vovit.

- (11) Ita rebus divinis peractis tum de bello reque de publica dictator rettulit, quibus quotve legionibus victori hosti obviam eundum esse patres censerent. Decretum ut ab Cn. Servilio consule exercitum acciperet : scriberet præter ea ex civibus sociisque quantum equitum ac peditum videretur : cætera omnia ageret faceretque ut e re publica duceret. Fabius duas legiones se adjecturum ad Servilianum exercitum dixit ; iis per

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magistrum equitum scriptis Tibur diem ad conveniendum edixit: edictoque proposito ut, quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent, uti commigrarent in loca tuta: ex agris quoque demigrarent omnis regionis ejus, qua iturus Hannibal esset, tectis prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis ne cujus rei copia esset. Ipse via Flaminia 4 profectus obviam consuli exercituque quum ad Tiberim circa Oriculum prospexisset agmen consulemque cum equitibus ad se prodeuntem, viatorem misit qui consuli nuntiaret ut sine lictoribus ad dictatorem veniret. Qui 5 quum dicto paruisset congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dictaturæ apud cives sociosque vetustate jam prope oblitos ejus imperii fecisset, litteræ ab urbe adlatæ sunt, naves onerarias commeatum ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad exercitum portantes a classe Punica circa portum Cosanum captas esse. Itaque extemplo 6 consul Ostiam proficisci jussus navibusque, quæ ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiæ essent, completis milite ac navalibus sociis persequi hostium classem ac litora Italiæ tutari. Magna vis hominum conscripta Romæ 7 erat: libertini etiam, quibus liberi essent et ætas militaris, in verba juraverant: ex hoc urbano exercitu qui minores quinque et triginta annis erant in naves impositi, alii ut urbi præsiderent relictæ.

Dictator exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco (12) legato per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad conveniendum edixerat novis militibus, venit. Inde Præ-2 neste ac transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est egressus, unde itineribus summa cum cura exploratis ad hostem ducit nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, fortunæ se commissurus. Quo primum die haud procul Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora facta quin Pœnus educeret in aciem copiam.



que pugnandi faceret: sed ubi quieta omnia apud hostes nec castra ullo tumultu mota videt, increpans quidem, victos tandem suos Martios animos Romanis debellatumque concessumque propalam de virtute ac gloria esse, in castra rediit: cæterum tacita cura animum incessit, quod cum duce haudquaquam Flaminio Sempronioque simili futura sibi res esset, ac tum demum edocti malis Romani parem Hannibali ducem 3 quæsisissent. Et prudentiam quidem non vim dictatoris extemplo timuit: constantiam hauddum expertus agitare ac temptare animum movendo crebro castra populandoque in oculis ejus agros sociorum cœpit: et modo citato agmine ex conspectu abibat, modo repente in aliquo flexu viæ, si excipere digressum in æquum 4 posset, occultus obsistebat. Fabius per loca alta agmen ducebat modico ab hoste intervallo ut neque omitteret eum neque congredereetur: castris, nisi quantum usus necessario cogeret, tenebatur miles: pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant nec passim: equitum levisque armaturæ statio, composita instructaque in subitos tumultus, et suo militi tuta omnia et infesta effusis hostium populatoribus præbebat: neque universo periculo summa rerum committebatur, et parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto cœptorum finitimoque receptu adsuefaciebant territum pristinis cladibus militem minus jam tandem aut virtutis aut fortunæ pœnitere 5 suæ. Sed non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis consiliis habebat quam magistrum equitum, qui nihil aliud quam quod impar erat imperio moræ ad rem publicam præcipitandam habebat, ferox rapidusque in 6 consiliis ac lingua immodicus. Primo inter paucos, dein propalam in vulgus pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum—adfingens vicina virtutibus vitia—com-

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pellabat, premendoque superiorem, quæ pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus crevit, sese extollebat.

Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneventanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit, irritat etiam de industria ducem, si forte accensum tot indignitatibus cladibus sociorum detrahare ad æquum certamen possit. Inter multitudinem sociorum Italici 2 generis, qui ad Trasumennum capti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant, tres Campani equites erant, multis jam tum illecti donis promissisque Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium animos: hi nuntiantes, si in Campaniam exercitum admovisset, Capuæ potiendæ copiam fore, quum res major quam auctores esset, dubium Hannibalem alternisque fidentem ac diffidentem tamen ut Campanos ex Samnio peteret moverunt: monitos, ut etiam atque etiam promissa rebus adfirmarent, iussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus principum redire ad se dimisit. Ipse imperat duci ut se in agrum 3 Casinatem ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occupasset, exitum Romano ad opem ferendam sociis interclusurum. Sed Punicum abhorrens ab Latino nomine Casilinum pro Casino dux ut acciperet fecit, aversusque ab suo itinere per Allifanum Calatinumque et Calenum agrum in campum Stellatam descendit. Ubi quum montibus fluminibusque clausam 5 regionem circumspexisset, vocatum ducem percunctatur, ubi terrarum esset. Quum is Casilini eo die mansurum 6 eum dixisset, tum demum cognitus est error et Casinum longe inde alia regione esse: virgisque cæso duce et ad reliquorum terrorem in crucem sublato, castris communitis, Maharbalem cum equitibus in agrum Faler- num prædatum dimisit. Usque ad aquas Sinuessanas 7

populatio ea pervenit : ingentem cladem, fugam tamen terroremque latius Numidæ fecerunt : nec tamen is terror, quum omnia bello flagrarent, fide socios dimovit, videlicet quia justo et moderato regebantur imperio, nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere.

- (14) Ut vero, postquam ad Vulturnum flumen castra sunt posita, exurebatur amœnissimus Italiæ ager villæque passim incendiis fumabant per juga Massici montis Fabio ducente, tum prope de integro seditio accensa.
- 2 Quieti fuerant enim per paucos dies, quia, quum celerius solito ductum agmen esset, festinari ad prohibendam populationibus Campaniam crediderant : ut vero in extrema juga Massici montis ventum est, hostes sub oculis erant Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessæ teota urentes, nec ulla erat mentio pugnæ, "Spectatumne huc" inquit Minucius "ad rem fruendam oculis—sociorum cædes et incendia—venimus? nec si nullius alterius, nos ne civium quidem horum pudet, quos Sinuessam colonos patres nostri miserunt ut ab Samnite hoste tuta hæc ora esset, quam nunc non vicinus Samnis urit sed Pœnus advena, ab extremis orbis terrarum terminis nostra cunctatione et socordia jam huc progressus?
- 3 tantum proh degeneramus a patribus nostris ut, præterquam oram illi suam Punicas vagari classes dedecus esse imperi sui duxerint, eam nunc plenam hostium Numidarumque ac Maurorum jam factam videamus? qui modo Saguntum oppugnari indignando non homines tantum sed fœdera et deos ciebamus, scandentem mœnia.
- 4 Romanæ coloniæ Hannibalem læti spectamus. Fumus ex incendiis villarum agrorumque in oculos atque ora venit, strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium sodorum sæpius nos quam deorum invocantium opem—

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hic pecorum modo per æstivos saltus deviasque calles exercitum ducimus conditi nubibus silvisque. Si hoc 5 modo peragrando cacumina saltusque M. Furius recipere a Gallis urbem voluisset, quo hic novus Camillus—nobis dictator unicus in rebus adfectis quæsitus—Italiam ab Hannibale recuperare parat, Gallorum Roma esset, quam vereor ne sic cunctantibus nobis Hannibali ac Pœnis totiens servaverint majores nostri. Sed vir ac 6 vere Romanus, quo die dictatorem eum ex auctoritate patrum jussuque populi dictum Veios adlatum est, quum esset satis altum Janiculum, ubi sedens prospectaret hostem, descendit in æquum atque illo ipso die media in urbe, qua nunc busta Gallica sunt, et postero die citra Gabios cecidit Gallorum legiones. Quid, post 7 multos annos quum ad Furculas Caudinas ab Samnite hoste sub jugum missi sumus, utrum tandem L. Papius Cursor juga Samnii perlustrando an Luceriam pre-mendo obsidendoque et lacessendo victorem hostem depulsum ab Romanis cervicibus jugum superbo Sam-niti imposuit? modo C. Lutatio quæ alia res quam celeritas victoriam dedit, quod postero die quam hostem vidit, classem gravem commeatibus impeditam suomet ipsam instrumento atque apparatu oppressit? Stultitia 8 est sedendo aut votis debellari credere posse: armari 9 copias oportet et deducendas in æquum ut vir cum viro congrediari: audendo atque agendo res Romana crevit non iis segnibus consiliis, quæ timidi cauta vocant.” Hæc velut concionanti Minucio circumfundebatur tri- 10 bunorum equitumque Romanorum multitudo et ad aures quoque militum dicta ferocia evolvebantur, ac, si militaris suffragii res esset, haud dubie ferebant Minn-cium Fabio duocem prælaturos.

*Fabius pariter in suos haud minus quam in hos. (15)*

tes intentus, prius ab illis invictum animum præstat. Quamquam probe scit non in castris modo suis sed jam etiam Romæ infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen tenore eodem consiliorum æstatis reliquum extrahit, ut Hannibal destitutus ab spe summa ope petiti certaminis jam hibernis locum circumspectaret, quia ea regio præsentis erat copię non perpetuę, arbusta vineęque et consita omnia magis amœnis quam  
2 necessariis fructibus. Hęc per exploratores relata Fabio. Quum satis sciret per easdem angustias, quibus intraverat Falernum agrum, rediturum, Calliculam montem et Casilinum occupat modicis præsiidiis, quę urbs Vulturno flumine dirempta Falernum a Campano agro dividit: ipse jugis isdem exercitum reducit, misso exploratum cum quadringentis equitibus socio-  
3 rum L. Hostilio Mancino. Qui ex turba juvenum audientium sæpe ferociter concionantem magistrum equitum progressus primo exploratoris modo ut ex tuto specularetur hostem, ubi vagos passim per vicos Numidas vidit, per occasionem etiam paucos occidit, extemplo occupatus certamine est animus excideruntque præcepta dictatoris, qui, quantum tuto posset, progressum prius recipere sese jusserat quam in conspectum hostium veniret. Numidę alii atque alii occursantes refugientesque ad castra prope ipsum cum  
4 fatigatione equorum atque hominum pertrahere: inde Carthalo, penes quem summa equestris imperii erat, concitatis equis invectus quum prius quam ad conjectum teli veniret avertisset hostes, quinque ferme millia con-  
5 tinenti cursu sequutus est fugientes. Mancinus, postquam nec hostem desistere sequi nec spem vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in prælium rediit omni parte virium. impar: itaque ipse et delecti equitum

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circumventi occiduntur: cæteri effuso rursus cursu Cales primum, inde prope inviis callibus ad dictatorem perfugerunt.

Eo forte die Minucius se conjunxerat Fabio missus 6 ad firmandum præsidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam in artas coactus fauces imminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa Pœnus Appiæ limite pervenire in agrum Romanum posset. Coniunctis exercitibus dictator ac magister 7 equitum castra in viam deferunt, qua Hannibal ducturus erat. Duo inde millia hostes aberant. Postero (16) die Pœni quod viæ inter bina castra erat agmine complevere. Quum Romani sub ipso constitissent vallo 2 haud dubie æquiore loco, successit tamen Pœnus cum expeditis equitibus, atque ad lacessendum hostem carptim Pœni et procursando recipiendoque sese pugnare. Restitit suo loco Romana acies: lenta pugna et ex 3 dictatoris magis quam Hannibalis fuit voluntate: ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti hostium cecidere. In-4 clusus inde videri Hannibal via ad Casilinum obsessa, quum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo divitum sociorum Romanis commeatus subveheret, Pœnus inter Formiana saxa ac Linternas arenas stagnaque perhorrida situ hibernaturus esset. Nec Hannibalem 5 fefellit suis se artibus peti: itaque quum per Casilinum evadere non posset petendique montes et jugum Calliculæ superandum esset, necubi Romanus inclusum vallibus agmen adgrederetur, ludibrium oculorum specie terribile ad frustrandum hostem commentus principio noctis furtim succedere ad montes statuit. Fallacis 6 consilii talis apparatus fuit: faces undique ex agris collectæ fascesque virgarum atque aridi sarmenti, præliganturque cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque multos inter cæteram agrestem prædam agebat: ad

- duo millia ferme boum effecta, Hasdrubalique negotium datum ut primis tenebris noctis id armentum accensis cornibus ad montes ageret, maxime, si posset,
- (17) super saltus ab hoste insessos. Primis tenebris silentio mota castra, boves aliquanto ante signa acti. Ubi ad radices montium viasque angustas ventum est, signum extemplo datur ut accensis cornibus armenta in ad-
- 2 versos concitentur montes. Et metus ipse relucens flammæ a capite calorque jam ad vivum ad imaque cornuum adveniens velut stimulos furore agebat boves. Quo repente discursu haud secus quam silvis montibusque accensis omnia circum virgulta ardere, capitumque irrita quassatio excitans flammam hominum
- 3 passim discurrentium speciem præbebat. Qui ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignes conspexere, circumventos se esse rati præsidio excessere: qua minime densæ micabant flammæ, velut tutissimum iter petentes summa montium juga, tamen in quosdam boves palatos a suis gregibus inciderunt: et primo quum procul cernerent, veluti flammæ spirantium miraculo adtoniti constiterunt, deinde, ut humana apparuit fraus, tum vero insidias rati esse, quum majore metu concitant se in fugam, levi quoque armaturæ hostium incurrere.
- 4 Cæterum nox æquato timore neutros pugnam incipientes ad lucem tenuit: inter ea toto agmine Hannibal transducto per saltum et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium oppressis in agro Allifano posuit castra.
- (18) Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius: cæterum et insidias esse ratus et ab nocturno utique abhorrens certamine
- 2 suos munimentis tenuit. Luce prima sub jugo montis proelium fuit, quo interclusam ab suis levem armaturam
- et enim numero aliquantum præstabant—Romani

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superassent, nisi Hispanorum cohors ad id ipsum remissa ab Hannibale pervenisset. Ea adsuetior montibus et ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque aptior ac levior quoque quum velocitate corporum tum armorum habitu campestem hostem—gravem armis statariumque—pugnæ genere facile elusit. Ita haudquaquam paritamine digressi, Hispani fere omnes incolumes, Romani aliquot suis amissis in castra contenderunt.

Fabius quoque movit castra transgressusque saltum super Allifas loco alto ac munito consedit. Tum per Samnium Romam se petere simulans Hannibal usque in Pelignos populabundus rediit: Fabius medius inter hostium agmen urbemque Romam jugis ducebat nec absistens nec congregiens. Ex Pelignis Pœnus flexit iter retroque Apuliam repetens Gereonium pervenit, urbem metu, quia collapsa ruinis pars mœnium erat, ab suis desertam. Dictator in Larinate agro castra communiit. Inde sacrorum causa Romam revocatus, non imperio modo sed consilio etiam ac prope precibus agens cum magistro equitum, ut plus consilio quam fortunæ confidat et se potius ducem quam Sempronium Flaminiūque imitetur: ne nihil actum censeret extracta prope æstate per ludificationem hostis: medicos quoque plus interdum quiete quam movendo atque agendo proficere: haud parvam rem esse ab totiens victore hoste vinci desisse, ab continuis cladi- bus respirasse. Hæc nequicquam præmonito magistro equitum Romam est profectus.

Principio æstatis, qua hæc gerebantur, in Hispania quoque terra marique cœptum bellum est. Hasdrubal ad eum navium numerum, quem a fratre instructum paratumque acceperat, decem adiecit: quadraginta navium classem Himilooni tradit, atque ita Carthagine



profectus navibus prope terram exercitum in litore ducebat paratus configere, quacumque parte copiarum  
3 hostis occurrisset. Cn. Scipioni, postquam movisse ex hibernis hostem audivit, primo idem consilii fuit: deinde minus terra propter ingentem famam novorum auxiliorum concurrere ausus, delecto milite ad naves imposito quinque et triginta navium classe ire obviam hosti pergit: altero ab Tarracone die ad stationem decem millia passuum distantem ab ostio Hiberi amnis  
4 pervenit. Inde duæ Massiliensium speculatoriæ præmissæ rettulere classem Punicam stare in ostio fluminis castraque in ripa posita: itaque ut improvidos incautosque universo simul effuso terrore opprimeret,  
5 sublatiis anchoris ad hostem vadit. Multas et locis altis positas turres Hispania habet, quibus et speculis et  
6 propugnaculis adversus latrones utuntur. Inde primo conspectis hostium navibus datum signum Hasdrubali est, tumultusque prius in terra et castris quam ad mare et ad naves est ortus, nondum aut pulsu remorum strepituque alio nautico exaudito aut aperientibus classem promontoriis, quum repente eques alius super alium ab Hasdrubale missus vagos in litore quietosque in tentoriis suis nihil minus quam hostem aut proelium eo die expectantes conscendere naves propere atque arma capere jubet: classem Romanam jam haud procul portu  
7 esse. Hæc equites dimissi passim imperabant. Mox Hasdrubal ipse cum omni exercitu aderat, varioque omnia tumultu strepunt ruentibus in naves simul remigibus militibusque fugientium magis e terra quam  
8 in pugnam euntium modo. Vixdum omnes conscenderant, quum alii resolutis oris in anchoras evehuntur, alii, ne quid teneat, anchoralia incidunt, raptimque omnia præpropere agendo militum apparatu nautica minis-

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teria impediuntur, trepidatione nautarum capere et aptare arma miles prohibetur. Et jam Romanus non 9 adpropinquabat modo sed direxerat etiam in pugnam naves. Itaque non ab hoste et proelio magis Pœni quam 10 suomet ipsi tumultu turbati et temptata verius pugna quam inita in fugam averterunt classem: et quum adversi amnis os lato agmini ac tam multis simul venientibus haud sane intrabile esset, in litus passim naves egerunt, atque alii vadis alii sicco litore excepti partim armati partim inermes ad instructam per litus aciem suorum perfugere. Duæ tamen primo concursu captæ 11 erant Punicæ naves, quattuor suppressæ. Romani, (20) quamquam terra hostium erat armatamque aciem toto prætentam in litore cernebant, haud cunctanter insequuti trepidam hostium classem naves omnes, quæ non aut perfregerant proras litori illisas aut carinas fixerant vadis, religatas puppibus in altum extraxere, ad quinque et viginti naves ex quadraginta cepere. Ne- 2 que id pulcherrimum ejus victoriæ fuit sed quod una levi pugna toto ejus oræ mari potiti erant. Ita- 3 que ad Onusam classe provecti excensione ab navibus in terram facta quum urbem vi cepissent captamque diripuissent, Carthaginem inde petunt, atque omnem agrum circa depopulati postremo tecta quoque injuncta muro portisque incenderunt. Inde jam præda gravis 4 ad Longunticam pervenit classis, ubi vis magna sparti ad rem nauticam congesta ab Hasdrubale: quod satis in usum fuit sublato cæterum omne incensum est. Nec in continentis modo projectas oras sed in 5 Ebusum insulam transmissum. Ubi urbe, quæ ca- 6 put insulæ est, biduum nequicquam summo labore oppugnata, ubi in spem irritam frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad populationem agri versi direptis

aliquot inbensisque vicis majore quam ex continenti præda parta quum in naves se recepissent, ex Balearibus insulis legati pacem petentes ad Scipionem venerunt.

7 Inde flexa retro classis reditumque in citeriora provinciæ, quo omnium populorum, qui Hiberum accolunt, multorum et ultimæ Hispaniæ legati concurrerunt.

8 Sed qui vere ditionis imperiique Romani facti sint obsidibus datis, populi amplius fuerunt centum viginti.

Igitur terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens Romanus

9 usque ad saltum Castulonensem est progressus. Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum concessit.

- (21) Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquum sætatis tempus, fuissetque per Pœnum hostem: sed præterquam quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta avidaque in novas res sunt ingenia, Mandonius Indebilisque, qui antea Ilorgetum regulus fuerat, postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad maritimam oram, concitis popularibus in agrum pacatum sociorum Romanorum ad populandum
- 2 venerunt. Adversus eos tribunus militum cum expeditis auxiliis a Scipione missi levi certamine ut tumultuariam manum fudere omnes occisis quibusdam captisque
- 3 que magnaue parte armis exuta. Hic tamen tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Hiberum ad socios tutandos retraxit. Castra Punica in agro Ilergavonensium, castra Romana ad Novam classem erant, quum
- 5 fama repens alio avertit bellum. Celtiberi, qui principes regionis suæ legatos miserant obsidesque dederant Romanis, nuntio misso a Scipione exciti arma capiunt provinciamque Carthaginensium valido exercitu invadunt, tria oppida vi expugnant. Inde cum ipso Hasdrubale duobus præliis egregie pugnant ac quindecim
- 6 millia hostium occiderunt, quattuor millia cum multis militaribus signis capiunt.

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Hoc statu rerum in Hispania P. Scipio in provin-(22)  
 ciam venit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab se-  
 natu missus cum triginta longis navibus et octo millibus  
 militum magnoque commeatu advecto. Ea classis in-2  
 gens agmine onerariarum procul visa cum magna lætitia  
 civium sociorumque portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit.  
 Ibi milite exposito profectus Scipio fratri se conjungit 3  
 ac deinde communi animo consilioque gerebant bel-  
 lum. Occupatis igitur Carthaginiensibus Celtiberico 4  
 bello haud cunctanter Hiberum transgrediuntur nec  
 ullo viso hoste Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi ob-  
 sides totius Hispaniæ traditos ab Hannibale fama erat  
 modico in arce custodiri præsidio. Id unum pignus 5  
 inclinatos ad Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniæ  
 populorum animos morabatur, ne sanguine liberum suo-  
 rum culpa defectionis lueretur. Eo vinculo Hispaniam 6  
 vir unus sollerti magis quam fideli consilio exsolvit:  
 Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante Pœ-  
 nis, tum, qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia,  
 cum fortuna mutaverat fidem. Cæterum transfugam 7  
 sine magnæ rei proditiōe venientem ad hostes nihil  
 aliud quam unum vile atque infame corpus esse ratus,  
 id agebat ut quam maximum emolumentum novis sociis  
 esset. Circumspectis igitur omnibus, quæ fortuna po-8  
 testatis ejus poterat facere, obsidibus potissimum tra-  
 dendis animum adjecit, eam unam rem maxime ratus  
 conciliaturam Romanis principum Hispaniæ amicitiam.  
 Sed quum injussu Bostaris præfecti satis sciret nihil 9  
 obsidium custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum arte  
 adgreditur. Castra extra urbem in ipso litore habe-10  
 bat Bostar, ut aditum ex ea parte intercluderet Romanis.  
 Ibi eum in secretum abductum velut ignorantem mo-11  
 net, quo statu sit res: metum continuisse ad eam diem

- Hispanorum animos, quia procul Romani abessent : nunc cis Hiberum castra Romana esse arcem tutam per-  
fugiumque novas volentibus res : itaque quos metus  
12 non teneat, beneficio et gratia devinciendos esse. Mi-  
ranti Bostari percunctantique, quodnam id subitum tan-  
tæ rei donum posset esse, "Obsides" inquit "in civitates  
remitte : id et privatim parentibus, quorum maximum  
nomen in civitatibus est suis, et publice populis gra-  
tum erit : vult sibi quisque credi et habita fides  
ipsam plerumque obligat fidem : ministerium resti-  
tuendorum domos obsidium mihimet deposco ipse, ut  
opera quoque impensa consilium adjuvem meum et rei  
suapte natura gratæ quantam insuper gratiam possim  
13 adjiciam." Homini non ad cætera Punica ingenia cal-  
lido ut persuasit, nocte clam progressus ad hostium  
stationes conventis quibusdam auxiliariis Hispanis  
et ab his ad Scipionem perductus, quid aderret, ex-  
promit : et fide accepta dataque ac loco et tempore con-  
14 stitute ad obsides tradendos Saguntum redit. Diem  
insequentem absumpsit cum Bostare mandatis ad rem  
agendam accipiendis : dimissus quum se nocte iturum,  
ut custodias hostium falleret, constituisset, ad com-  
positam cum iis horam excitatis custodibus puerorum  
profectus veluti ignarus in præparatas sua fraude  
15 insidias ducit. In castra Romana perducti : cætera  
omnia de reddendis obsidibus sicut cum Bostare con-  
stitutum erat acta per eundem ordinem quo si Car-  
16 thaginiensium nomine sic ageretur. Major aliquanto  
Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari quam quanta futura  
Carthaginiensium fuerat : illos enim graves superbos  
in rebus secundis expertos fortuna et timor miti-  
gasse videri poterat : Romanus primo adventu incog-  
nitus ante ab re clementi liberalique initium fecerat.

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Et Abelux, vir prudens, haud frustra videbatur socios 17  
mutâsse : itaque ingenti consensu defectionem omnes  
spectare, armaque extemplo mota forent, ni hiems,  
quæ Romanos quoque et Carthaginienses concedere in  
tectâ coegit, intervenisset.

Hæc in Hispania quoque secunda ætate Punici belli (23)  
gesta, quum in Italia paulum intervalli cladibus Roma-  
nis sollers cunctatio Fabii fecisset : quæ ut Hannibalem  
non mediocri sollicitum cura habebat, tandem eum  
militiæ magistrum delegisse Romanos cernentem, qui  
bellum ratione non fortuna gereret, ita contempta erat  
inter cives armatos pariter togatosque, utique post-  
quam absente eo temeritate magistri equitum læto  
verius dixerim quam prospero eventu pugnatum fue-  
rat. Accesserant duæ res ad augendam invidiam dic-  
tatoris, una fraude ac dolo Hannibalis, quod, quum a  
perfugis ei monstratus ager dictatoris esset, omnibus  
circa solo æquatis ab uno eo ferrum ignemque et vim  
omnem hostium abstineri jussit, ut occulti alicujus pacti  
ea merces videri posset, altera ipsius facto, primo for-  
sitan dubio, quia non exspectata in eo senatus auctoritas  
est, ad extremum haud ambigue in maximam laudem  
verso, in permutandis captivis, quod, sicut primo Pu-  
nico bello factum erat, convenerat inter duces Roma-  
num Pœnumque ut, quæ pars plus reciperet quam  
daret, argenti pondo bina et selibras in militem præ-  
staret. Ducentos quadraginta septem quum plures Ro-  
manus quam Pœnus recepisset, argentumque pro eis  
debitum sæpe jactata in senatu re, quoniam non con-  
suluisset patres, tardius erogaretur, inviolatum ab hoste  
agrum misso Romam Quinto filio vendidit fidemque  
publicam impendio privato exsolvit.

Hannibal pro Gereonii mœnibus, cujus urbis captæ 4

atque incensæ ab se in usum horreorum pauca relique-  
 5 rat tecta, in stativis erat. Inde frumentatum duas  
 exercitus partes mittebat, cum tertia ipse expedita in  
 statione erat simul castris præsidio et circumspectans,  
 (24) necunde impetus in frumentatores fieret. Romanus  
 tunc exercitus in agro Larinati erat. Præerat Minucius  
 magister equitum profecto, sicut ante dictum est, ad  
 2 urbem dictatore. Cæterum castra, quæ in monte alto  
 ac tuto loco posita fuerant, jam in planum deferuntur,  
 agitabanturque pro ingenio ducis consilia calidiora, ut  
 impetus aut in frumentatores palatos aut in castra re-  
 3 licta cum levi præsidio fieret. Nec Hannibalem fefellit  
 cum duce mutam esse belli rationem et ferocius quam  
 4 consultius rem hostes gesturos. Ipse autem—quod  
 minime quis crederet—quum hostis propius esset, ter-  
 tiam partem militum frumentatum duabus in castris  
 retentis dimisit, dein castra ipsa propius hostem movit  
 duo ferme a Gereonio millia in tumulum hosti conspec-  
 tum, ut intentum sciret esse ad frumentatores, si qua  
 5 vis fieret, tutandos. Propior inde ei atque ipsis immi-  
 nens Romanorum castris tumulus apparuit, ad quem  
 capiendum si luce palam iretur, quia haud dubie hostis  
 breviora via præventurus erat, nocte clam missi Nu-  
 6 midæ ceperunt. Quos tenentes locum contempta pau-  
 citate Romani postero die quum deiecissent, ipsi eo  
 7 transferunt castra. Tum itaque exiguum spatii vallum  
 a vallo aberat et id ipsum tota prope compleverat Ro-  
 mana acies, simul et per aversa castra equitatus cum  
 levi armatura emissus in frumentatores late cædem  
 fugamque hostium palatorum fecit: nec acie certare  
 Hannibal ausus, quia tanta paucitate vix castra, si  
 oppugnarentur, tutari poterat: jamque artibus Fabii—  
 pars exercitus aberat jam ferme—sedendo et cunctando

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bellum gerebat receperatque suos in priora castra, quæ pro Gereonii monibus erant. Justa quoque acie et 8 collatis signis dimicatum quidam auctores sunt: primo concursu Pœnum usque ad castra fusum, inde eruptione facta repente versum terrorem in Romanos, Numerii Decimii Samnitis deinde interventu prœlium restitutum: hunc principem genere ac divitiis non Boviani modo, unde erat, sed toto Samnio, jussu dictatoris octo millia peditum mille equites adducentem in castra, ab tergo quum apparuisset Hannibali, speciem parti utrique præbuisse novi præsidii cum Q. Fabio ab Roma venientis. Hannibalem insidiarum quoque ali- 9 quid timentem recepisse suos, Romanum insequentum adjuvante Samnite duo castella eo die expugnasse. Sex 10 millia hostium cæsa, quinque admodum Romanorum: tamen in tam pari prope clade famam egregiæ victoriæ cum vanioribus litteris magistri equitum Romanæ perlata.

De iis rebus persæpe et in senatu et in concione actum (25) est. Quum læta civitate dictator unus nihil nec famæ nec litteris crederet, ut vera omnia essent, secunda se magis quam adversa timere diceret, tum M. Metellus tribunus plebis id enim ferendum esse negat: non præsentem solum dictatorem obstitiisse rei bene gerendæ sed absentem etiam gestæ obstare, et in ducendo bello ac sedulo tempus terere quo diutius in magistratu sit solusque et Romæ et in exercitu imperium habeat: quippe consulum alterum in acie cecidisse, alterum specie classis Punicæ persequendæ procul ab Italia ablegatum: duos prætores Sicilia atque Sardinia occupatos, quorum neutra hoc tempore provincia prætore egeat: M. Minucium magistrum equitum, ne hostem videret, ne quid rei bellicæ gereret, prope in custodiam



habitus : itaque hercule non Samnium modo, quo jam tamquam trans Hiberum agro Pœnis concessum sit, sed et Campanum Calenumque et Falernum agrum pervastatos esse, sedente Casilini dictatore et legionibus 2 populi Romani agrum suum tutante. Exercitum cupientem pugnare et magistrum equitum clausos prope intra vallum retentos, tamquam hostibus captivis arma adempta : tandem, ut abscesserit inde dictator, ut obsidione liberatos extra vallum egressos fudisse ac fugâsse 3 hostes. Quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebei Romanæ esset, audaciter se laturum fuisse de abrogando Q. Fabii imperio : nunc modicam rogationem promulgatum de æquando magistri equitum et dictatoris 4 jure. Nec tamen ne ita quidem prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium quam consulem in locum C. Flaminii suffecisset. Dictator concionibus se abstinuit in actione minime popularis : ne in senatu quidem satis æquis auribus audiebatur tunc, quum hostem verbis extolleret biennique clades per temeritatem atque inscitiam ducum acceptas referret magistroque equitum, quod contra dictum suum pugnasset, rationem diceret 6 reddendam esse. Si penes se summa imperii consilii que sit, prope diem effecturum ut sciant homines, bono imperatore haud magni fortunam momenti esse, mentem rationemque dominari, et in tempore et sine ignominia servâsse exercitum quam multa millia hostium occidisse 7 majorem gloriam esse. Hujus generis orationibus frustra habitis et consule creato M. Atilio Regulo, ne præsens de jure imperii dimicaret, pridie quam rogationis 8 ferendæ dies adesset, nocte ad exercitum abiit. Luce orta quum plebis concilium esset, magis tacita invidia dictatoris favorque magistri equitum animos versabat, quam satis audebant homines ad suadendum quod vulgo

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placebat prodire, et favore superante auctoritas tamen rogationi deerat. Unus inventus est suator legis C. 9 Terentius Varro, qui priore anno prætor fuerat, loco non humili solum sed etiam sordido ortus. Patrem 10 lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis, filioque hoc ipso in servilia ejus artis ministeria usum. Is (26) juvenis, ut primum ex eo genere quæstus pecunia a patre relicta animos ad spem liberalioris fortunæ fecit, togaque et forum placuere, proclamando pro sordidis hominibus causisque adversus rem et famam bonorum primum in notitiam populi deinde ad honores pervenit: quæsturaque et duabus ædilitatibus—plebeia et curuli—postremo et prætura perfunctus jam ad consulatus spem quum adtolleret animos, haud parum callide auram favoris popularis ex dictatoria invidia petit scitique plebis unus gratiam tulit. Omnes eam rogationem 2 quique Romæ quique in exercitu erant—æqui atque iniqui—præter ipsum dictatorem in contumeliam ejus latam acceperunt: ipse, qua gravitate animi criminantes se ad multitudinem inimicos tulerat, eadem et populi in se sævientem injuriam tulit, acceptisque in ipso itinere litteris senatus consulti de æquato imperio, satis fidens, haudquaquam cum imperii jure artem imperandi æquatam, cumque invicto a civibus hostibusque animo ad exercitum rediit.

Minucius vero quum jam ante vix tolerabilis fuisset (27) secundis rebus ac favore vulgi, tum utique immodice immodesteque non Hannibale magis victo ab se quam Q. Fabio gloriari: illum in rebus asperis unicum ducem ac parem quæsitum Hannibali, majorem minori, dictatorem magistro equitum, quod nulla memoria habeat annalium, jussu populi æquatum in eadem civitate, in qua magistri equitum virgas ac secures dictatoris tre-

- mere atque horrere soliti sint: tantum suam felicitatem virtutemque enituisse: ergo sequuturum quoque se fortunam suam, si dictator in cunctatione ac segnitie
- 2 deorum hominumque iudicio damnata perstaret. Itaque quo die primum congressus est cum Q. Fabio, statuendum omnium primum ait esse, quem ad modum imperio æquato utantur: se optimum ducere aut diebus alternis aut, si maiora intervalla placerent, partitis temporibus alterius summum jus imperiumque esse, ut par hosti non solum consilio sed viribus etiam esset,
- 3 si quam occasionem rei gerendæ habuisset. Q. Fabio haudquaquam id placere: omnia fortunam enim habituram, quæcumque temeritas collegæ habuisset: sibi communicatum cum illo non ademptum imperium esse: itaque se nunquam volentem parte qua posset rerum consilio gerendarum cessurum, nec se tempora aut dies imperii cum eo, exercitum divisurum, suisque consiliis, quoniam omnia non liceret, quæ posset servaturum.
- 4 Ita obtinuit ut legiones, sicut consulibus mos esset, inter se dividerent: prima et quarta Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio evenerunt: item equites pari numero sociumque et Latini nominis auxilia diviserunt: castris se quoque separari magister equitum voluit.
- (28) Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit:—neque enim quicquam eorum, quæ apud hostes agerentur, eum fallebat et perfugis multa indicantibus et per suos explorantem—: nam et liberam Minucii temeritatem se suo modo captaturum et sollertiæ Fabii dimidium virum decessisse. Tumulus erat inter castra Minucii et Pœnorum, quem qui occupasset, haud dubie iniquiorem
- 5 erat hosti locum facturum. Eum non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal, quamquam id operæ pretium erat, quam causam certaminis cum Minucio, quem

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semper occurrurum ad obsistendum satis sciebat, contrahere. Ager omnis medius erat prima specie inutilis 4 insidiatori, quia non modo silvestre quicquam sed ne vepribus quidem vestitum habebat, re ipsa natus tegendis insidiis eo magis, quod in nuda valle nulla talis fraus timeri poterat: et erant in anfractibus cavæ rupes, ut quædam earum ducenos armatos possent capere. In has latebras, quot quæmque locum apte 5 insidere poterant, quinque millia conduntur peditum equitumque: neubi tamen aut motus alicujus temere egressi aut fulgor armorum fraudem in valle tam aperta detegeret, missis paucis prima luce ad capiendum quem ante diximus tumulum avertit oculos hostium. Primo 6 statim conspectu contempta paucitas, ac sibi quisque deposcere pellendos inde hostes ad locum capiendum. Dux ipse inter stolidissimos ferocissimosque ad arma 7 vocat, et vanis animis et minis increpat hostem: principio levem armaturam dimittit, deinde conserto agmine mittit equites, postremo, quum hostibus quoque subsidia mitti videret, instructis legionibus procedit. Et Hannibal laborantibus suis alia atque alia ut crescente certamine mittens auxilia peditum equitumque jam justam expleverat aciem, ac totis utrimque viribus certatur. Prima levis armatura Romanorum, præoccupatum 9 inferiore loco succedens tumulum, pulsa detrusaque terrorem in succedentem intulit equitem et ad signa legionum refugit. Peditum acies inter percussos im- 10 pavidam sola erat videbaturque, si justa ac si recta pugna esset, haudquaquam impar futura: tantum animorum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies res gesta. Sed exorti 11 repente insidiatores eum tumultum terroremque in latera utrimque ab tergoque incursantes fecerunt, ut neque animus ad pugnam neque ad fugam spes cuiquam

- (29) superesset. Tum Fabius primo clamore paventium audito, dein conspecta procul turbata acie, "Ita est" inquit, "non celerius quam timui deprendit fortuna temeritatem: Fabio æquatus imperio Hannibalem et  
2 virtute et fortuna superiorem videt. Sed aliud iurgandi succensendique tempus erit: nunc signa extra vallum proferte: victoriam hosti extorqueamus, confessionem erroris civibus." Jam magna ex parte cæsis aliis aliis circumspectantibus fugam Fabiana se acies repente velut cœlo dimissa ad auxilium ostendit: itaque, priusquam ad conjectum teli veniret aut manum consereret, et suos a fuga effusa et ab nimis feroci pugna hostes continuit: qui solutis ordinibus vage dissipati erant, undique confugerunt ad integram aciem, qui plures simul terga dederant, conversi in hostem volventesque orbem nunc sensim referre pedem nunc conglobati restare: ac jam prope una acies facta erat victi atque integri exercitus inferebantque signa in hostem, quum Pœnus receptui cecinit, palam ferente Hannibale ab se Minucium, se ab Fabio victum.
- 4 Ita per variam fortunam diei maiore parte exacta quum in castra reditum esset, Minucius convocatis militibus "Sæpe ego" inquit "audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit, secundum eum qui bene monenti obediat: qui nec ipse consulere nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii  
5 esse. Nobis quoniam prima animi ingeniique negata sors est, secundam ac mediam teneamus et, dum imperare discimus, parere prudenti in animum inducamus.
- 6 Castra cum Fabio jungamus: ad prætorium ejus signa quum tulerimus, ubi ego eum patrem appellavero, quod beneficio ejus erga nos ac majestate ejus dignum est, vos, milites, eos, quorum vos modo arma dexteræ texe-

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runt, patronos salutabitis, et—si nihil aliud—gratorum certe nobis animorum gloriam dies hic dederit.” Signo (30) dato conclamatur inde ut colligantur vasa. Profecti et agmine incedentes dictatoris castra in admirationem et ipsum et omnes qui circa erant converterunt. Ut 2 constituta sunt ante tribunal signa, progressus ante alios magister equitum, quum patrem Fabium appellationem circumfususque militum ejus totum agmen patronos consalutasset, “Parentibus” inquit “meis, dictator, quibus te modo nomine, quo fando possum, æquavi, vitam tantum debeo, tibi quum meam salutem tum omnium horum: itaque plebei scitum, quo oneratus magis quam honoratus sum, primus antiquo abrogoque et, quod tibi mihique, quod exercitibusque his tuis—servato ac conservatori—sit felix, sub imperium auspiciumque tuum redeo et signa hæc legionesque restituo: tu, quæso, placatus me magistri equitum, hos ordines suos quemque tenere jubeas.” Tum dextræ interjunctæ 3 militesque concione dimissa ab notis ignotisque benigne atque hospitaliter invitati, lætusque dies ex admodum tristi paulo ante ac prope execrabili factus. Romæ, 4 ut est perlata fama rei gestæ, dein litteris non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam vulgo militum ex utroque exercitu adfirmata, pro se quisque Maximum laudibus ad cælum ferre. Par gloria apud Hannibalem hostesque 5 Pœnos erat, ac tum demum sentire cum Romanis atque in Italia bellum esse: nam biennio ante adeo et duces Romanos et milites spreverant, ut vix cum eadem gente bellum esse crederent, cujus terribilem eam famam a patribus accepissent. Hannibalem quoque ex acie 6 redeuntem dixisse ferunt, tandem eam nubem, quæ sedere in jugis montium solita sit, cum procella imbrem dedisse.

- (31) Dum hæc geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius Geminus consul cum classe navium centum viginti circumvectus Sardiniae et Corsicae oram et obsidibus utrimque acceptis in Africam transmisit, et prius quam in continentem exscensionem faceret, Menige insula vastata et ab incolentibus Cercinam, ne et ipsorum ureretur diripereturque ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis ad litora Africae accessit copiasque exposuit. Inde ad populandum agrum ducti milites navalesque socii juxta effusi ac si insulis cultorum egentibus prædarentur.
- 2 Itaque in insidias temere illati quum a frequentibus palantes et ab locorum gnaris ignari circumvenirentur, cum multa cæde ac foeda fuga retro ad naves compulsi
- 3 sunt. Ad mille hominum, cum iis Sempronio Blæso quæstore amisso, classis ab litoribus hostium plenis trepide soluta in Siciliam cursum tenuit traditaque Lilybæi T. Otacilio prætori, ut ab legato ejus P. Sura
- 4 Romam reduceretur. Ipse per Siciliam pedibus profectus freto in Italiam trajecit, litteris Q. Fabii accitus et ipse et collega ejus M. Atilius, ut exercitus ab se exacto jam prope semenstri imperio acciperent.
- 5 Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem adversus Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt, Cœlius etiam eum primum a populo creatum dictatorem scribit: sed et Cœlium et cæteros fugit uni consuli Cn. Servilio, qui tum procul in Gallia provincia aberat, jus fuisse dicendi dictatoris, quam moram quia exspectare territa jam clade civitas non poterat, eo decursum esse ut a populo crearetur qui pro dictatore esset: res inde gestas gloriamque insignem ducis et augentes titulum imaginis posteros ut, qui pro dictatore, dictator crederetur facile obtinuisse,
- (32) Consules Atilius Fabiano Geminus Servilius Minu-

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ciano exercitu accepto hibernaculis mature communis  
—extremum autumnus erat—Fabii artibus cum summa  
inter se concordia bellum gesserunt : frumentatum ex-  
eunti Hannibali diversis locis opportuni aderant carpen-  
tes agmen palatosque excipientes : in casum universæ  
dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat hostis, non  
veniebant : ad eoque inopiæ est coactus Hannibal ut,  
nisi cum fugæ specie abundum timuisset, Galliam  
repetiturus fuerit, nulla relicta spe alendi exercitus in  
eis locis, si insequentes consules eisdem artibus bellum  
gererent.

Quum ad Gereonium jam hieme impediante consti- 2  
tisset bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam venire. Ab 3  
iis quadraginta pateræ aureæ magni ponderis in curiam  
illatæ atque ita verba facta ut dicerent, scire sese  
populi Romani ærarium bello exhauriri, et quum id  
juxta pro urbibus agrisque sociorum ac pro capite  
atque arce Italiæ, urbe Romana atque imperio, geratur  
æquum censuisse Neapolitanos, quod auri sibi quum  
ad templorum ornatum tum ad subsidium fortunæ a  
majoribus relictum foret, eo juvare populum Roma-  
num : si quam opem in sese crederent, eodem studio  
fuisse oblaturus : gratum sibi patres Romanos popu-  
lumque facturum, si omnes res Neapolitanorum suas  
duxissent, dignosque judicaverint ab quibus donum,  
animo ac voluntate eorum qui libentes darent quam re  
majus ampliusque, acciperent. Legatis gratiæ actæ 4  
pro munificentia curaque, patera, quæ ponderis minimi  
fuit, accepta.

Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginiensis, qui per (33)  
biennium fefellerat, Romæ deprensus præcisique mani-  
bus dimissus, et servi quinque et viginti in crucem acti  
quod in campo Martio conjurassent : indici data libertas



- 2 et æris gravis viginti millia. Legati et ad Philippum Macedonum regem missi ad deposcendum Demetrium Pharium, qui bello victus ad eum fugisset, et alii in Ligures ad expostulandum quod Pœnum opibus auxiliisque suis juvissent, simul ad visendum ex propinquo, quæ in Boiis atque Insubribus gererentur : ad Pineum quoque regem in Illyrios legati missi ad stipendium, cujus dies exierat, poscendum aut, si diem proferre  
3 vellet, obsides accipiendos. Adeo, etsi bellum ingens in cervicibus erat, nullius usquam terrarum rei cura  
4 Romanos, ne longinqua quidem, effugiebat. In religionem etiam venit ædem Concordiæ, quam per seditionem militarem biennio ante L. Manlius prætor in Gallia vovisset, locatam ad id tempus non esse : itaque duumviri ad eam rem creati a M. Æmilio prætore urb. C. Pupius et Cæso Quinctius Flamininus ædem in arce faciendam locaverunt.
- 5 Ab eodem prætore ex senatus consulto litteræ ad consules missæ ut, si iis videretur, alter eorum ad consules creandos Romam veniret, se in eam diem  
6 quam jussissent comitia edicturum. Ad hæc consulis rescriptum, sine detrimento rei publicæ abscedi non posse ab hoste : itaque per interregem comitia habenda esse potius quam consul alter a bello avocaretur.  
7 Patribus rectius visum est dictatorem a consule dici comitiorum habendorum causa : dictus L. Veturius Philo M'. Pomponium Mathonem magistrum equitum  
8 dixit. Iis vitio creatis jussisque die quarto decimo se  
(34) magistratu abdicare, res ad interregnum rediit. Consulis prorogatum in annum imperium. Interreges proditi sunt a patribus C. Claudius Appii filius Cento,  
3 inde P. Cornelius Asina. In ejus interregno comitia  
4 habita magno certamine patrum ac plebis. C. Terentio

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Varroni—quem sui generis hominem, plebi insectatione principum popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabii opibus et dictatorio imperio concusso aliena invidia splendentem, vulgus et extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur—patres summa ope obstabant, ne se insectando sibi æquari adsuescerent homines. Q. Bæbius 5 Herennius tribunus plebis, cognatus O. Terentii, criminando non senatum modo sed etiam augures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia perficere, per invidiam eorum favorem candidato suo conciliabat: ab hominibus nobilibus per multos annos bellum quærentibus Hannibalem in Italiam adductum, ab isdem, quum debellari possit, fraude bellum trahi: cum quattuor legionibus universis pugnari posse apparuisse eo quod M. Minucius absente Fabio prospere pugnasset, duas legiones hosti ad cædem objectas deinde ex ipsa cæde ereptas, ut pater patronusque appellaretur qui prius vincere prohibuisset Romanos quam vinci: consules deinde Fabianis artibus, quum debellare possent, bellum traxisse: id fœdus inter omnes nobiles ictum, nec finem ante belli habituros quam consulem vere plebeium, id est hominem novum, fecissent: nam plebeios nobiles jam eisdem initiatos esse sacris et contemnere plebem, ex quo contemni a patribus desierint, cœpisse: cui non id apparere, id actum et quæsitum esse ut interregnum iniretur, ut in patrum potestate comitia essent? id consules ambos ad exercitum morando quæsisse, id post ea, quia invitis iis dictator esset dictus comitiorum causa, expugnatum esse ut vitiosus dictator per augures fieret: habere igitur interregnum eos, consulatum unum certe plebis Romanæ esse: populum liberum habiturum ac daturum ei, qui magis vere vincere quam diu imperare malit.

- (35) Quum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patriciis petentibus P. Cornelio Merenda L. Manlio Vulsons M. Æmilio Lepido, duobus nobilibus jam familiarum plebei C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Ælio Pæsto, quorum alter pontifex alter augur erat, C. Terentius consul unus creatur ut in manu ejus essent comitia  
 2 rogando collegæ. Tum experta nobilitas parum fuisse virium in competitoribus ejus L. Æmiliū Paulum, qui cum M. Livio consul fuerat et damnatione collegæ et sua prope ambustus evaserat, infestum plebei, diu ac multum recusantem ad petitionem compellit: is proximo comitali die concedentibus omnibus, qui cum Varrone certaverant, par magis in adversandum quam  
 3 collega datur consuli. Inde prætorialia comitia habita: creati M. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius Philus: Philo Romæ juri dicundo urbana sors, Pomponio inter cives Romanos et peregrinos evenit: additi duo prætores, M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, L. Postumius Albinus in Galliam: omnes absentes creati sunt, nec cuiquam eorum præter Terentium consulem mandatus honos quem jam non antea gessisset, præteritis aliquot fortibus ac strenuis viris, quia in tali tempore nullis novus magistratus videbatur mandandus. Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt. Quantæ autem peditum equitumque additæ sint copiæ, adeo et numero et genere copiarum variant auctores, ut vix quicquam satis certum adfirmare ausus sim: decem millia novorum militum alii scripta in supplementum, alii novas quattuor legiones, ut octo legionibus rem gererent: numero quoque peditum equitumque legiones auctas millibus peditum et centenis equitibus in singulas adjectis, ut quina millia peditum quadringeni equites essent, socii duplicem numerum equitum darent, peditis æquarent; septem et octoginta
- (36)

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millia armatorum et ducentos in castris Romanis, quum pugnatum ad Cannas est, quidam auctores sunt. Illud 2  
 haudquaquam discrepat, majore conatu atque impetu rem actam quam prioribus annis, quia spem posse vinci hostem dictator præbuerat. Cæterum priusquam signa 3  
 ab urbe novæ legiones moverent, decemviri libros adire atque inspicere jussi propter territos vulgo homines novis prodigiis: nam et Romæ in Aventino et Ariciæ nuntiatum erat sub idem tempus lapidibus pluvisse, et multo cruore signa in Sabinis, Cæretes aquas fonte calido gelidas manasse: id quidem etiam, quod sæpius acciderat, magis terrebat: et in via Fornicata, quæ ad Campum erat, aliquot homines de coelo tacti exanimatique fuerant: ea prodigia ex libris procurata. Le- 4  
 gati a Pæsto pateras aureas Romam adtulerunt: iis sicut Neapolitanis gratiæ actæ, aurum non acceptum.

Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia cum mag- (37)  
 no comœatu accessit. Legati in senatum introducti 2  
 nuntiarunt, cædem C. Flamini consulis exercitusque adlatam adeo ægre tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nulla sua propria regni que sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Itaque, quamquam probe sciat magnitudinem populi 3  
 Romani admirabiliorem prope adversis rebus quam secundis esse, tamen se omnia, quibus a bonis fidelibusque sociis bella juvari soleant, misisse, quæ ne accipere abnuant magno opere se patres conscriptos orare. Jam 4  
 omnium primum ominis causa Victoriæ auream pondo ducentum ac viginti adferre sese: acciperent eam tenerentque et haberent propriam et perpetuam. Advex- 5  
 isse etiam trecenta millia modium tritici ducenta herdei, ne comœatus deessent, et quantum præter ea opus esset, quo jussissent subvecturos. Milite atque equite 6  
 scire nial Romano Latinique nominis non uti populum

Romanum, levium armorum auxilia etiam externa vidisse in castris Romanis: itaque misisse mille sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam manum adversus Baleares  
7 ac Mauros pugnacesque alias missili telo gentes. Ad ea dona consilium quoque addebant ut prætor, cui provincia Sicilia evenisset, classem in Africam trajiceret, ut et hostes in terra sua bellum haberent, minusque laxamenti daretur his ad auxilia Hannibali submittenda.

8 Ab senatu ita responsum regi est, virum bonum egregiumque socium Hieronem esse atque uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidem coluisse ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifice adjuvisse: id perinde ac deberet gratum populo Romano  
9 esse. Aurum et a civitatibus quibusdam adlatum gratia rei accepta non accepisse populum Romanum: Victoriæ omenque accipere sedemque ei se divæ dare dicare Capitolium, templum Jovis optimi maximi: in ea arce urbis Romanæ sacratam volentem propitiamque  
10 firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano. Funditores sagittarii que et frumentum traditum consulibus: quinqueremes ad navium classem, quæ cum T. Otacilio proprætore in Sicilia erant, quinque et viginti additæ, permissumque est ut, si e re publica censeret esse, in Africam trajicerent.

(38) Dilectu perfecto consules paucos morati dies, dum  
2 socii ab nomine Latino venirent. Milites tum, quod numquam antea factum erat, jure jurando ab tribunis militum adacti, jussu consulum conventuros neque in  
3 jussu abituros. Nam ad eam diem nihil præter sacramentum fuerat, et, ubi ad decuriatum aut centuriatum convenissent, sua voluntate ipsi inter sese decuriati equites centuriati pedites conjurabant, sese fugæ atque formidinis ergo non abituros neque ex ordine reces-

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suros nisi teli sumendi aut petendi et aut hostis feriendi aut civis servandi causa. Id ex voluntario inter ipsos 4 fœdere ad tribunos ad legitimam juris jurandi adactionem translatum.

Conciones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, 5 consulis Varronis multæ ac feroces fuere, denuntiantis bellum arcessitum in Italiam ab nobilibus mansurumque in visceribus rei publicæ, si plures Fabios imperatores haberet: se, quo die hostem vidisset, perfecturum. Collegæ ejus Pauli una pridie quam ex urbe proficis- 6 ceretur concio fuit, verior quam gratior populo, qua nihil inclementer in Varronem dictum nisi id modo, mirari se, quodne qui dux, priusquam aut suum aut hostium exercitum locorum situm naturam regionis nosset, jam nunc togatus in urbe sciret quæ sibi agenda armato forent, et diem quoque prædicere posset, qua cum hoste signis collatis esset dimicaturus. Se, quæ 7 consilia magis res dent hominibus quam homines rebus, ea ante tempus immatura non præcepturum: optare ut, quæ caute ac consulte gesta essent, satis prospere evenirent: temeritatem, præterquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum fuisse. Id sua sponte 8 apparebat tuta celeribus consiliis præpositurum, et, quo id constantius perseveraret, Q. Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscentem adloquutus fertur: “Si aut colle- (39) gam, id quod mallet, tui similem, L. Æmili, haberes, aut tu collegæ tui esses similis, supervacanea esset oratio mea: nam et duo boni consules etiam me indigente omnia e re publica fide vestra faceretis, et mali nec mea verba auribus vestris nec consilia animis acciperetis. Nunc et collegam tuum et te talem virum 2 intuenti mihi tecum omnis oratio est, quem video nequiquam et virum bonum et civem fore, si altera

parte claudet res publica, malis consiliis idem ac bonis  
3 juris et potestatis erit. Erras enim, L. Paule, si tibi  
minus certaminis cum C. Terentio quam cum Hanni-  
bale futurum censes, nescio an infestior hic adversarius  
quam ille hostis maneat, et, cum illo in acie tantum,  
cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus si certaturus es,  
adversus Hannibalem legionesque ejus tuis equitibus  
ac peditibus pugnandum tibi sit, Varro dux tuis militi-  
4 bus te sit oppugnaturus. Ominis etiam tibi causa  
absit C. Flamini memoria: tamen ille consul demum  
et in provincia et ad exercitum cœpit furere: hic  
priusquam peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo con-  
sulatum, nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra videat  
aut hostem, insanit: et qui tantas jam nunc procellas  
prœlia atque acies jactando inter togatos ciet, quid  
inter armatam juventutem censes facturum et ubi ex-  
templo res verba sequitur? atqui si hic, quod facturum  
se denuntiat, extemplo pugnaverit, aut ego rem milita-  
rem belli hoc genus hostem hunc ignoro, aut nobilior  
5 alius Trasumenno locus nostris cladibus erit. Neo glo-  
riandi tempus adversus unum est, ut ego contemnendo  
potius quam adpetendo gloriam modum excesserim:  
sed ita res se habet, una ratio belli gerendi adversus  
Hannibalem est qua ego gessi, nec eventus modo hoc  
docet—stultorum iste magister est—sed eadem ratio,  
quæ fuit futuraque, donec res eædem manebunt, im-  
6 mutabilis est. In Italia bellum gerimus in sede ac  
solo nostro, omnia circa plena civium ac sociorum sunt,  
armis viris equis commeatibus juvant juvabuntque, id  
jam fidei documentum in adversis rebus nostris dede-  
runt, meliores prudentiores constantiores nos tempus  
diesque facit: Hannibal contra in aliena in hostili est  
terra inter omnia inimica infestaque procul ab domo ab

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patria, neque illi terra neque mari est pax, nullæ eum urbes accipiunt, nulla mœnia, nihil usquam sui videt, in diem capto vivit: partem vix tertiam exercitus ejus habet, quem Hiberum amnem trajecit: plures fame quam ferro absumpsit, nec his paucis jam victum suppeditat. Dubitas ergo quin sedendo superaturi simus 7 eum qui senescat in dies, non commeatus non supplementum non pecuniam habeat? quamdiu pro Gereonii, castelli Apuliæ inopis, tamquam pro Carthaginis mœnibus—! sed ne adversus te quidem de me gloriabor: Cn. Servilius atque Atilius, proximi consules, vide quemadmodum eum ludificati sint: hæc una salutis est via, L. Paule, quam difficilem infestamque cives tibi magis quam hostes facient: idem enim tui quod hostium milites volent, idem Varro consul Romanus quod Hannibal Pœnus imperator cupiet: duobus ducibus unus resistas oportet: resistes autem, adversus famam rumoresque hominum satis si firmus steteris, si te neque collegæ vana gloria neque tua falsa infamia moverit. Veritatem laborare nimis sæpe aiunt, extinguï numquam: gloriam qui spreverit, verè eam habebit. Sine, timidum pro cauto tardum pro considerato imbellem pro perito belli vocent: malo te sapiens hostis metuat quam stulti cives laudent: omnia audentem contemnet Hannibal, nihil temere agentem metuet. Nec ego, ut nihil agatur sed ut agentem te ratio ducat 10 non fortuna: tuæ potestatis semper tu tuæque omnia sint, armatus intentusque sis, neque occasione tuæ desis neque suam occasionem hosti des: omnia non prope-ranti clara certaue erunt, festinatio improvida est et cæca." Adversus ea oratio consulis haud sane læta (40) fuit, magis fatentis ea quæ diceret vera quam facilia factu esse: dictatori magistrum equitum intolerabilem



fuisse—quid consuli adversus collegam seditiosum ac temerarium virium atque auctoritatis fore? se populare incendium priore consulatu semustum effugisse: optare ut omnia prospere venirent, et, si quid adversi caperet, hostium se telis potius quam suffragiis iratorum civium 2 caput objecturum. Ab hoc sermone profectum Paulum tradunt prosequentibus primoribus patrum: plebeium consulem sua plebes prosequuta, turba conspectior quum dignitates deessent.

- 3 Ut in castra venerunt, permixto novo exercitu ac vetere, castris bifariam factis, ut nova minora essent propius Hannibalem, in veteribus major pars et omne robur virium esset, consulem anni prioris M. Atilium ætatem excusantem Romam miserunt, Geminum Servilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanæ et socium 4 peditum equitumque duobus millibus præficiunt. Hannibal quamquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias cernebat, tamen adventu consulum mire gaudere: non solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem commeatibus superabat, sed ne unde raperet quidem quicquam reliqui erat omni undique frumento, postquam ager parum tutus erat, in urbes munitas convecto, ut vix decem dierum, quod compertum postea est, frumentum superesset, Hispanorumque ob inopiam transitio parata fu-
- (41) erit, si maturitas temporum exspectata foret. Cæterum temeritati consulis ac præproprio ingenio materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohibendis prædatoribus tumultuario proelio ac procursu magis militum quam ex præparato aut jussu imperatorum orto haudquam par Pœnis dimicatio fuit: ad mille et septingenti cæsi non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque occisis.
- 2 Cæterum victoribus effuse sequentibus metu insidiarum obstitit Paulus consul, cujus eo die—nam alternis im-

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peritabant—imperium erat, Varrone indignante ac vociferante emissum hostem e manibus debellarique, ni cessatum foret, potuisse. Hannibal id damnum haud 3 ægerrime pati, quin potius credere velut inescatam temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac novorum maxime militum esse. Et omnia ei hostium haud secus quam sua nota erant: dissimiles discordesque imperitare, duas prope partes tironum militum in exercitu esse. Itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus nocte proxima nihil præter arma ferentes secum milites ducit, castra plena omnis fortunæ publicæ privatæque relinquit, transque proximos montes læva pedites instructos condit, dextra equites, impedimenta per convallem medium agmen traducit, ut diripiendis velut desertis fuga dominorum castris occupatum impeditumque hostem opprimeret. Crebri relictæ in castris ignes ut fides 4 fieret, dum ipse longius spatium fuga præciperet, falsa imagine castrorum, sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere in locis consules voluisse. Ubi (42) illuxit, subductæ primo stationes, deinde propius adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem fecit. Jam satis comperta solitudine in castris, concursus fit ad prætoria consulum nuntiantium fugam hostium adeo trepidam, ut tabernaculis stantibus castra reliquerint, quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos ignes. Clamor inde ortus ut signa proferri juberent 2 ducerentque ad persequendos hostes ac protinus castra diripienda. Et consul alter velut unus turbæ militaris 3 erat, Paulus etiam atque etiam dicere providendum præcavendumque esse: postremo, quum aliter neque seditionem neque ducem seditionis sustinere posset, Marium Statilium præfectum cum turma Lucana exploratum mittit. Qui ubi adequitavit portis, subsistere 4

extra munimenta cæteris jussis ipse cum duobus equitibus vallum intravit, speculatusque omnia cum cura renuntiat insidias profecto esse: ignes in parte castrorum, qua vergant ad hostem, relictos, tabernacula aperta et omnia cara in promptu relicta, argentum quibusdam locis temere per vias vel objectum ad prædam vidisse. Quæ ad deterrendos a cupiditate animos nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt, et clamore orto a militibus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, haudquamquam dux defuit, nam extemplo Varro signum dedit proficiscendi. Paulus, quum ei sua sponte cunctanti pulli quoque auspicio non addixissent, obnuntiari jam efferenti porta signa collegæ jussit. Quod quamquam Varro ægre est passus, Flamini tamen recens casus Claudique consulis primo Punico bello memorata navalis clades religionem animo incussit. Dî prope ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere imminentem pestem Romanis: nam forte ita evenit ut, quum referri signa in castra jubenti consuli milites non parerent, servi duo Formiani unus alter Sidicini equitis, qui Servilio atque Atilio consulibus inter pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent eo die ad dominos: deductique ad consules nuntiant, omnem exercitum Hannibalis trans proximos montes sedere in insidiis. Horum opportunus adventus consules imperii potentes fecit, quum ambitio alterius suam primum apud eos prava indulgentia majestatem solvisset.

- (43) Hannibal postquam motos magis inconsulte Romanos quam ad ultimum temere evectos vidit, nequiquam delecta fraude in castra rediit. Ibi plures dies propter inopiam frumenti manere nequit, novaque consilia in dies non apud milites solum mixtos ex colluvione omnium gentium sed etiam apud ducem ipsum oriebantur.

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Nam quum initio fremitus deinde aperta vociferatio<sup>3</sup> fuissent exposcentium stipendium debitum querentiumque annonam primo postremo famem, et mercenarios milites maxime Hispani generis de transitione cepisse consilium fama esset, ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse ita ut relicto peditatu omni eum equitibus se proriperet. Quum hæc consilia<sup>4</sup> atque hic habitus animorum esset in castris, movere inde statuit in calidiora atque eo maturiora messibus Apuliæ loca, simul quod, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, transfugia impeditiora levibus ingeniis essent. Profectus est nocte ignibus similiter factis tabernaculisque paucis in speciem relictis, ut insidiarum par priori metus contineret Romanos. Sed per eundem Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra transque montes exploratis quum relatum esset visum procul hostium agmen, tum de insequendo eo consilia agitari coepta. Quum utriusque consulis eadem quæ ante semper fuisset<sup>6</sup> sententia, cæterum Varroni fere omnes, Paulo nemo præter Servilium prioris anni consulem adsentiretur, majoris partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade Romana Cannas urgente fato profecti sunt. Prope eum vicum<sup>7</sup> Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Volturmo vento, qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulveris vehit. Id quum<sup>8</sup> ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare præcipue futurum erat quum aciem dirigerent, ipsi aversi—terga tantum adflante vento—in occæcatum pulvere offuso hostem pugnaturi.

Consules satis exploratis itineribus sequentes Pœnum<sup>(44)</sup> ut ventum ad Cannas est, ut in conspectu Pœnum habebant, bina castra communiunt eodem ferme intervallo, quo ad Gereonium, sicut ante copiis divis. Aufidus amnis utrisque castris adfluens aditum aqua-<sup>2</sup>

toribus ex sua cujusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat: ex minoribus tamen castris, quæ posita trans Aufidum erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia  
 3 ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium præsidium. Hannibal spem nactus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, dirigit aciem lacessitque Numidarum  
 4 procursatione hostes. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra, quum Paulus Sempronique et Flamini temeritatem Varroni, Varro speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium objiceret, testareturque deos hominesque, hic, nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal jam vel usu cepisset Italiam, se constrictum a collega teneri, ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus, ille, si quid projectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque improvidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpæ exsortem omnis eventus participem fore diceret: videret ut, quibus lingua tam prompta ac temeraria, æque in pugna vigerent manus.

- (45) Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, quum in castra cæteras reciperet copias, Numidas ad invadendos ex minoribus castris Romano-  
 2 rum aquatores trans flumen mittit. Quam inconditam turbam quum vixdum in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugâssent, in stationem quoque pro vallo locatam  
 3 atque ipsas prope portas evecti sunt. Id vero indignum visum, ab tumultuario auxilio jam etiam castra Romana terreri, ut ea modo una causa, ne extemplo transirent flumen dirigerentque aciem, tenuerit Romanos, quod  
 4 summa imperii eo die penes Paulum fuerit. Itaque Varro postero die, cui sors ejus diei imperii erat, nihil

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consulto collega signum proposuit instructasque copias flumen traduxit—sequente Paulo, quia magis non probare quam non adjuvare consilium poterat. Trans-5 gressi flumen eas quoque, quas in castris minoribus habuerant, copias suis adjungunt, atque ita instructa acie in dextro cornu—id erat flumini propius—Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites: lævum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites ad medium juncti legionibus Romanis tenuerunt: jaculatores cum cæteris levium armorum auxiliis prima acies facta: consules cornua tenere, Terentius lævum Æmilius dextrum, Geminio Servilio media pugna tuenda data. Hannibal luce prima Balearibus levique alia armatura (46) præmissa transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita in acie locabat: Gallos Hispanosque equites prope ripam lævo in cornu adversus Romanum equitatum, dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum, media acie peditibus firmata ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, interponerentur his mediis Galli atque Hispani. Afros 2 Romanam magna ex parte crederes aciem, ita armati erant, armis et ad Trebiam cæterum magna ex parte ad Trasumennum captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta 3 ejusdem formæ fere erant, dispares ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis prælongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano—punctim magis quam cæsim adsueto petere hostem—brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus. Sane et alius habitus gen-4 tium harum quum magnitudine corporum tum specie terribilis erat: Galli super umbilicum erant nudi: Hispani linteis prætextis purpura tunicis candore miro fulgentibus constiterant. Numerus omnium peditum, 5 qui tum steterunt in acie, millium fuit quadraginta, decem equitum. Duces cornibus præerant sinistro 6 Hasdrubal dextro Maharbal, mediam aciem Hannibal

7 ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit. Sol seu de industria ita locatis, seu quod forte ita steteret, peropportune utrique parti obliquus erat, Romanis in meridiem Poenis in septemtrionem versis: ventus—Vulturnum regionis incolæ vocant—adversus Romanis coortus multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit.

- (47) Clamore sublato procursum auxiliis et pugna levibus primum armis commissa: deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorum lævum cornu cum dextro Romano concurrît, minime equestris more pugnæ, frontibus enim adversis concurrendum erat, quia nullo circa ad evagandum relicto spatio hinc amnis hinc peditum acies 2 claudabant in directum utrimque nitentes. Stantibus ac confertis postremo turba equis vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo: pedestre magna jam ex parte certamen factum erat: acrius tamen quam diutius pugnatum est, pulsique Romani equites terga vertunt. Sub 3 equestris finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna. 4 Primo et viribus et animis pares constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque: tandem Romani, diu ac sæpe con-nisi, æqua fronte acieque densa impulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem eoque parum validum a cætera prominentem acie: impulsis deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem insistere, ac tenore uno per præceps pavore fugientium agmen in mediam primum aciem illati postremo nullo resistente ad subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt, qui utrimque reductis alis constiterant, media, qua Galli Hispanique steterant, aliquantum prominente acie. 5 Qui cuneus ut pulsus æquavit frontem primum, deinde cedendo etiam sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa jam cornua fecerant irruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdedere alas, mox cornua extendendo clau- 6 sere et ab tergo hostes, Hinc Romani defuncti nequi-

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quam prœlio uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, et adversus Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non tantum in eo iniquam quod inclusi adversus circumfusus, sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnabant. Jam et sinistro cornu Romanis, (48) ubi sociorum equites adversus Numidas steterant, conserutum prœlium erat, segne primo et a Punica ceptum fraude. Quingenti ferme Numidæ, præter cætera arma 2 telaque gladios occultos sub loriceis habentes, specie transfugarum quum ab suis parmas post terga habentes adequitassent, repente ex equis desiliunt parmusque et jaculis ante pedes hostium projectis in mediam aciem accepti ductique ad ultimos considerare ab tergo jubentur. Ac dum prœlium ab omni parte conseritur, quieti man- 3 serunt: postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum arreptis scutis, quæ passim inter acervos cæsorū corporum humi strata erant, aversam adoriuntur Romanam aciem, tergaque ferientes ac poplites cædentes stragem ingentem ac majorem aliquanto pavorem ac tumultum fecerunt. Quum alibi 4 terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in mala jam spe prœlium esset, Hasdrubal, qui ea jam parte præerat, subductos ex media acie Numidas, quia segnis eorum cum adversis pugna erat, ad persequendos passim fugientes mittit, Hispanos et Gallos equites Afris jam prope fessis cæde magis quam pugna adjungit.

Parte altera pugnæ Paulus, quamquam primo statim (49) prœlio funda graviter ictus fuerat, tamen et concurrat sæpe cum confertis Hannibali et aliquot locis prœlium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis omissis postremo equis, quia consulem et ad regendum equum vires deficiebant. Tum deinde nuntianti cuidam, jus- 2 sisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites, dixisse



Hannibalem ferunt “quam mallem victos mihi traderet.” Equitum pedestre prœlium—quale jam haud dubia hostium victoria—fuit, quum victi mori in vestigio mal-  
lent quam fugere, victores morantibus victoriam irati  
3 trucidarent quos pellere non poterant. Pepulerunt  
tamen jam paucos superantes et labore ac vulneribus  
fessos : inde dissipati omnes sunt equosque ad fugam  
4 qui poterant repetebant. Cn. Lentulus tribunus mili-  
tum quum prœtervehens equo sedentem in saxo cruore  
oppletum consulem vidisset, “L. Æmili,” inquit “quem  
unum insontem culpæ cladis hodiernæ dei respicere  
debent, cape hunc equum, dum et tibi virium aliquid  
superest, comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere : ne  
funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris, et jam  
sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est.” Ad ea con-  
sul : “Tu quidem, Cn. Corneli, maecte virtute esto : sed  
cave frustra morando exiguum tempus e manibus hos-  
tium evadendi absumas : abi, nuntia publice patribus,  
urbem Romanam muniant ac prius quam hostis victor  
advenit præsidiis firment : privatim Q. Fabio Æmilium  
præceptorum ejus memorem et vixisse adhuc et mori :  
memet in hac strage militum meorum patere exspirare,  
ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim, aut accusator  
collegæ existam ut alieno crimine innocentiam meam  
5 protegam.” Hæc exigentes prius turba fugientium  
civium deinde hostes oppressere : consulem ignorantes,  
quis esset, obruere telis, Lentulum inter tumultum  
6 abripuit equus. Tum inde effuse fugiunt. Septem  
millia hominum in minora castra, decem in majora, duo  
ferme in vicum ipsum Cannas perfugerunt, qui ex-  
templo a Carthalone atque equitibus nullo munimento  
7 tegente vicum circumventi sunt. Consul alter, seu  
forte seu consilio nulli fugientium insertus agmini,

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cum septuaginta fere equitibus Venusiam perfugit. Quadraginta quinque millia quingenti pedites, duo millia septingenti equites, et tanta prope civium sociorumque pars, cæsi dicuntur: in his ambo consulum quæstores, L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus, et viginti unus tribuni militum, consulares quidam prætorique et ædificii—inter eos Cn. Servilium Geminum et M. Minucium numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno aliquot annis ante consul fuerat—, octoginta præterea aut senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent, unde in senatum legi deberent, quum sua voluntate milites in legionibus facti essent. Capta eo prælio tria millia 8 peditum et equites mille et quingenti dicuntur.—Hæc (50) est pugna Cannensis, Aliensi cladi nobilitate par, cæterum ut illis, quæ post pugnam accidere, levior, quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus gravior fœdiorque: fuga namque ad Aliam sicut urbem prodidit, ita exercitum servavit: ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix septuaginta sequuti sunt, alterius morientis prope totus exercitus fuit.

Binis in castris quum multitudo semiermis sine duci- 2 bus esset, nuntium qui in majoribus erant mittunt, dum prælium, deinde ex lætitia epulis fatigatos quies nocturna hostes premeret, ut ad se transirent: uno agmine Canusium abituros esse. Eam sententiam alii 3 totam aspernari: cur enim illos, qui se arcessant, ipsos non venire, quum æque conjungi possent? Quia videlicet plena hostium omnia in medio essent et aliorum quam sua corpora tanto periculo mallent objicere. Aliis non tam 4 sententia displicere quam animus deesse. P. Sempronius Tuditanus tribunus militum “Capi ergo mavultis” inquit “ab avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste, æstimarique capita vestra et exquiri pretia ab interrogantibus, Ro-

manus civis sis an Latinus socius, ut ex tua contumelia et miseria alteri honos quæretur? Non tu, si quidem L. Æmili consulis, qui se bene mori quam turpiter vivere maluit, et tot fortissimorum virorum, qui circa eum  
 6 cumulati jacent, cives estis. Sed antequam opprimit lux majoraque hostium agmina obsæpiunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque incompositi obstrepunt portas,  
 7 erumpamus. Ferro atque audacia via fit quamvis per confertos hostes: cuneo quidem hoc laxum atque solutum agmen ut si nihil obstet disjicias: itaque ite mecum, qui et vosmet ipsos et rem publicam salvam vultis.”  
 8 Hæc ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium cuneoque facto per medios vadit hostes: et quum in latus dextrum, quod patebat, Numidæ jacularentur, translatis in dextrum scutis in majora castra ad sexcenti evaserunt, atque inde protinus alio magno agmine adjuncto Canusium incolumes perveniunt. Hæc apud victos magis impetu animorum—quod ingenium suum cuique aut fors dabat—quam ex consilio ipsorum aut imperio cujusquam agebantur.

- (51) Hannibali victori quum cæteri circumfusi gratularentur suaderentque, ut tanto perfunctus bello diei quod reliquum esset noctisque insequentis quietem et ipse sibi sumeret et fessis daret militibus, Maharbal præfectus equitum minime cessandum ratus “Immo ut, quid hac pugna sit actum, scias, die quinto” inquit  
 2 “victor in Capitolio epulaberis. Sequere: cum equite, ut prius venisse quam venturum sciant, præcedam.”  
 3 Hannibali nimis læta res est visa majorque quam ut eam statim capere animo posset: itaque voluntatem se laudare Maharbalis ait, ad consilium pensandum  
 4 temporis opus esse. Tum Maharbal: “Non omnia nimis eidem dī dedere: vincere scis, Hannibal, vic-

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toria uti nescis." Mora ejus diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio.

Postero die ubi primum illuxit, ad spolia legenda 5  
 foedamque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem insis-  
 tunt. Jacebant tot Romanorum millia, pedites passim 6  
 equitesque, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna junxerant  
 aut fuga. Adsurgentes quidam ex strage media cru- 7  
 enti, quos stricta matutino frigore excitaverant vulnera,  
 ab hoste oppressi sunt. Quosdam et jacentes vivos 8  
 succisis feminibus poplitibusque invenerunt, nudantes  
 cervicem jugulumque et reliquum sanguinem jubentes  
 haurire. Inveniunt quidam sunt mersis in effossam ter- 9  
 ram capitibus, quos sibi ipsos fecisse foveas obruentes-  
 que ora superjecta humo interclusisse spiritum appare-  
 bat. Præcipue convertit omnes subtractus Numida 10  
 mortuo superincubanti Romano vivus naso auribusque  
 laceratis, quum manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus  
 in rabiem ira versa laniando dentibus hostem expiras-  
 set. Spoliis ad multum diei lectis Hannibal ad minora (52)  
 ducit castra oppugnanda, et omnium primum brachio  
 flumini objecto eos excludit. Cæterum ab omnibus 2  
 labore vigiliis vulneribus etiam fessis maturior ipsius  
 spe deditio est facta. Pacti, ut arma atque equos tra- 3  
 derent, in capita Romana trecenis nummis quadrigatis,  
 in socios ducenis, in servos centenis, et ut eo pretio  
 persoluto cum singulis abirent vestimentis, in castra  
 hostes acceperunt: traditique in custodiam omnes sunt  
 seorsum cives sociique. Dum ibi tempus teritur, inter 4  
 ea quum ex majoribus castris, quibus satis virium aut  
 animi fuit, ad quattuor millia hominum et ducenti equi-  
 tes, alii agmine alii palati passim per agros—quod haud  
 minus tutum erat—Canusium perfugissent, castra ipsa  
 ab sauciis timidisque eadem conditione qua altera tra-

5 dita hosti. Præda ingens parta est, et præter equos virosque et si quid argenti—quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat, nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur—omnis cætera præda diripienda data est. Tum sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum jussit: ad octo millia fuisse dicuntur fortissimorum virorum. Consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum sepultumque quidam auctores sunt.

- 7 Eos, qui Canusium perfugerant, mulier Apula nomine Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, mœnibus tantum tectisque a Canusinis acceptos, frumento veste viatico etiam juvit: pro qua ei munificentia postea bello perfecto ab  
(53) senatu honores habiti sunt. Cæterum quum ibi tribuni militum quattuor essent, Fabius Maximus de legione prima, cujus pater priore anno dictator fuerat, et de legione secunda L. Publicius Bibulus et P. Cornelius Scipio, et de legione tertia Ap. Claudius Pulcher, qui proxime ædilis fuerat, omnium consensu ad P. Scipionem admodum adolescentem et ad Ap. Claudium  
2 summa imperii delata est. Quibus consultantibus inter paucos de summa rerum nuntiat P. Furius Philus consularis viri filius, nequiquam eos perditam spem fovere, desperatam comploratamque rem esse publicam: nobiles juvenes quosdam, quorum principem L. Cæcilium Metellum, mare ac naves spectare ut deserta Italia ad  
3 regum aliquem transfugiant. Quod malum, præterquam atrox, super tot clades etiam novum quum stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset, et qui aderant consilium advocandum de eo censerent, negat consilii rem esse Scipio juvenis, fatalis dux hujusce belli: audendum atque agendum non consultandum ait in tanto malo esse: irent secum extemplo armati, qui rem publicam salvam vellent: nullo loco verius quam ubi ea

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cogitentur hostium castra esse. Pergit ire sequen- 4  
tibus paucis in hospitium Metelli et, quum concilium  
ibi juvenum de quibus adlatum erat invenisset, stricto  
super capita consultantium gladio, "Ex mei animi sen-  
tentia" inquit, "ut ego rem publicam populi Romani  
non deseram, neque alium civem Romanum deserere  
patiar: si sciens fallo, tum me, Juppiter optime maxi-  
me, domum familiam remque meam pessimo leto adfi-  
cias. In hæc verba, L. Cæcili, jures postulo cæterique 5  
qui adestis: qui non juraverit, in se hunc gladium  
strictum esse sciat." Haud secus pavidi, quam si vic- 6  
torem Hannibalem cernerent, jurant omnes custodien-  
dosque semet ipsos Scipioni tradunt. Eo tempore, (54)  
quo hæc Canusii agebantur, Venusiam ad consulem ad  
quattuor millia et quingenti pedites equitesque, qui  
sparsi fuga per agros fuerant, pervenere. Eos omnes 2  
Venusini per familias benigne accipiendos curandosque  
quum divisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas  
et quadrigatos nummos quinos vincenos et pediti denos,  
et arma quibus deerant dederunt. Cæteraque publice 3  
ac privatim hospitaliter facta certatumque, ne a muliere  
Canusina populus Venusinus officiis vinceretur. Sed 4  
gravius onus Busæ multitudo faciebat, et jam ad decem  
millia hominum erant: Appiusque et Scipio, postquam  
incolumem esse alterum consulem acceperunt, nuntium  
extemplo mittunt, quantæ secum peditum equitumque  
copiæ essent, sciscitatumque simul, utrumne Venusiam  
adduci exercitum an manere juberet Canusii. Varro 5  
ipse Canusium copias traduxit: et jam aliqua species  
consularis exercitus erat, mœnibusque se certe ei, si  
non armis, ab hoste videbantur defensuri.

Romam ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium 6  
sociorumque sed occidione occisos consules cum duobus

exercitibus deletasque omnes copias adlatum fuerat.

7 Numquam salva urbe tantum pavoris tumultusque intra

8 moenia Romana fuit. Itaque succumbam oneri neque  
adgrediar narrare quæ edissertando minora vero faciam.

9 Consule exercituque ad Trasumennum priore anno  
amisso non vulnus super vulnus sed multiplex clades—  
cum duobus consulibus duo consulares exercitus amissi  
nuntiabantur, nec ulla jam castra Romana nec ducem  
nec militem esse, Hannibalis Apuliam Samnium ac jam

10 prope totam Italiam factam. Nulla profecto alia gens  
tanta mole cladis non obruta esset: compares aut  
cladem ad Ægates insulas Carthaginiensium prælio  
navali acceptam, qua fracti Sicilia ac Sardinia cessere,  
inde vectigales ac stipendiarios fieri se passi sunt: aut  
pugnam adversam in Africa, cui postea hic ipse Han-  
nibal succubuit:—nulla ex parte comparandæ sunt nisi

(55) quod minore animo latæ sunt. P. Furius Philus et  
M'. Pomponius prætores senatum in curiam Hostiliam  
vocaverunt, ut de urbis custodia consularent: neque  
enim dubitabant deletis exercitibus hostem ad oppug-  
nandam Romam, quod unum opus belli restaret, ven-  
2 turum. Quum in malis sicuti ingentibus ita ignotis ne  
consilium quidem satis expedirent, obstreperetque cla-  
mor lamentantium mulierum et—nondum palam facto  
—vivi mortuique et per omnes pæne domos promiscue  
complorarentur, tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit equi-  
tes expeditos et Appia et Latina via mittendos, qui  
obvios percunctando—aliquos profecto ex fuga passim  
dissipatos fore—referant quæ fortuna consulum atque  
exercituum sit, et, si quid dii immortales miseriti im-  
perii reliquum Romani nominis fecerint, ubi eæ copiæ  
sint: quo se Hannibal post prælium contulerit, quid  
3 paret quid agat acturusque sit. Hæc exploranda nos-

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cendaque per impigros juvenes esse. Illud per patres 4 ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratum parum sit, ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant, matronas publico arceant continerique intra suum quamque limen cogant, comploratus familiarum coerceant, silentium per urbem faciant, nuntios rerum omnium ad prætores deducendos curent, suæ quisque fortunæ domi auctorem expectent, custodesque præterea ad portas ponant, qui prohibeant quemquam egredi urbem cogantque homines nullam nisi urbe ac mœnibus salvis salutem sperare: ubi conticuerit tumultus, tum in curiam patres revocandos consulendumque de urbis custodia esse.

Quum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes iissent, (56) summotaque foro per magistratus turba patres diversi ad sedandos tumultus discessissent, tum demum litteræ a C. Terentio consule adlatæ sunt, L. Æmilium consulem exercitumque cæsum, sese Canusii esse reliquias tantæ cladis velut ex naufragio colligentem: ad decem millia militum ferme esse inpositorum inordinatorumque: Pœnum sedere ad Cannas, in captivorum pretiis prædaque alia nec victoris animo nec magni ducis more nundinantem. Tum privatæ quoque per 2 domos clades vulgatæ sunt, adeoque totam urbem oplevit luctus ut sacrum anniversarium Cereris intermissum sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere est fas, nec ulla in illa tempestate matrona experta luctus fuerat. Itaque ne ob eandem causam alia quoque sacra publica 3 aut privata desererentur, senatus consulto diebus triginta luctus est finitus. Cæterum quum sedato urbis 4 tumultu revocati in curiam patres essent, aliæ insuper ex Sicilia litteræ adlatæ sunt ab T. Otacilio proprætore, regnum Hieronis classe Punica vastari, cui quum opem imploranti ferre vellet, nuntiatum sibi esse aliam clas-



sem ad *Ægates* insulas stare paratam instructamque ut, ubi se versum ad tuendam *Syracusanam* oram *Pœni* sensissent, *Lilybæum* extemplo provinciamque aliam Romanam adgrederentur: itaque classe opus esse, si regem socium *Siciliamque* tueri vellent.

- (57) Litteris consulis proprætorisque perlectis *M. Claudium*, qui classi ad *Ostiam* stanti præseset, *Canusium* ad exercitum mittendum censuerunt, scribendumque consuli ut, quum prætori exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum rei publicæ fieri posset, *Romam* veniret. Territi etiam super tantas clades quum cæteris prodigiis tum quod duæ *Vestales* eo anno, *Opimia* atque *Floronia*, stupri compertæ: et altera sub terra, uti mos est, ad portam *Collinam* necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem consciverat: *L. Cantilius* scribe pontificis, quos nunc minores pontifices appellant, qui cum *Floronia* stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio cæsus erat, ut inter 3 verbera expiraret. Hoc nefas quum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium versum esset, decemviri libros adire jussi sunt, et *Q. Fabius Pictor* Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum, quibus precibus supplicisque deos possent placare, et quænam futura finis 4 tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta, inter quæ *Gallus* et *Galla*, *Græcus* et *Græca* in foro bovario sub terra vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo conseptum, jam ante hostiis 5 humanis—minime Romano sacro—imbutum. Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis *M. Claudius Marcellus* ab *Ostia* mille et quingentos milites, quos in classem scriptos habebat, *Romam* ut urbi præsidio essent mittit: ipse, legione classica—ea legio tertia erat—cum tribunis militum *Teanum Sidicinum* præmissa, classe tradita

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P. Furio Philo collegæ paucos post dies Canusium magnis itineribus contendit. Inde dictator ex auctoritate patrum dictus M. Junius et Tib. Sempronius magister equitum dilectu edicto juniores ab annis septemdecem et quosdam prætextatos scribunt: quattuor ex his legiones et mille equites effecti. Item ad socios Latini numque nomen ad milites ex formula accipiendos mittunt: arma tela alia parari jubent, et vetera spolia hostium detrahunt templis porticibusque. Et aliam formam novi dilectus inopia liberorum capitum ac necessitas dedit: octo millia juvenum validorum ex servitiis prius sciscitantes singulos, vellentne militare, et emptâ publice armaverunt: hic miles magis placuit, quum pretio minore redimendi captivos copia fieret.

Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad Can- (58) nas pugnam victoris magis quam bellum gerentis intentus curis, quum captivis productis segregatisque socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam Trasumennumque lacum, benigne adloquutus sine pretio dimisisset, Romanos quoque vocatos—quod numquam alias antea—satis miti sermone adloquitur: non internecivum sibi esse cum Romanis bellum, de dignitate atque imperio certare: et patres virtuti Romanæ cessisse, et se id adniti ut suæ in vicem simul felicitati et virtuti cedatur. Itaque redimendi se captivis copiam facere: pretium fore in capita equiti quingenos quadrigatos nummos, trecenos pediti, servo centenos. Quamquam aliquantum ad-3 ciebatur equitibus ad id pretium quo pepigerant dedentes se, læti tamen quamcumque conditionem paciscendi acceperunt: placuit suffragio ipsorum decem deligi qui Romam ad senatum irent: nec pignus aliud fidei quam ut jurarent se redituros acceptum. Missus 4 cum his Carthalo nobilis Carthaginiensis, qui, si forte

ad pacem inclinarent animos, conditiones ferret. Quum egressi castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Romani ingenii homo, veluti aliquid oblitus jurisjurandi solvendi causa quum in castra redisset, ante noctem comites  
 5 adsequitur. Ubi Romam venire eos nuntiatum est, Carthalonii obviam lictor missus, qui dictatoris verbis nuntiaret ut ante noctem excederet finibus Romanis :  
 (59) legatis captivorum senatus ab dictatore datus est. Quorum princeps M. Junius "Patres conscripti," inquit, "nemo nostrum ignorat nulli umquam civitati  
 2 viliores fuisse captivos quam nostræ. Cæterum, nisi nobis plus justo nostra placet causa, non alii umquam minus negligendi vobis quam nos in hostium potestatem  
 3 venerunt. Non enim in acie per timorem arma tradidimus sed, quum prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis cæsorum corporum prælium extraxissemus, in castra recepimus nos, diei reliquum ac noctem insequentem fessi labore ac vulneribus vallum sumus tutati, postero die, quum circumsessi ab exercitu victore aqua arceremur nec ulla jam per confertos hostes erumpendi spes esset nec esse nefas duceremus, quinquaginta millibus hominum ex acie nostra trucidatis aliquem ex Cannensi pugna Romanum militem restare, tunc demum pacti sumus pretium quo redempti dimitteremur, arma, in quibus nihil jam auxilii erat, hosti tradidimus.  
 4 Majores quoque acceperamus se a Gallis auro redemisse, et patres vestros, asperrimos illos ad conditionem pacis, legatos tamen captivorum redimendorum gratia Tarentum misisse : atqui et ad Aliam cum Gallis et ad Heracleam cum Pyrrho utraque non tam clade infamis quam pavore et fuga pugna fuit. Cannenses campos acervi Romanorum corporum tegunt, nec supersumus pugnae nisi in quibus trucidandis et ferrum et vires

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hostem defecerunt. Sunt etiam de nostris quidam, qui 6  
ne in acie quidem refugerunt, sed præsidio castris re-  
lictis, quum castra traderentur, in potestatem hostium ve-  
nerunt. Haud equidem ullius civis et commilitonis for- 7  
tunæ aut conditioni invideo, nec premendo alium me  
extulisse velim—: ne illi quidem, nisi pernicitatis  
pedum et cursus aliquod præmium est, qui plerique  
inermes ex acie fugientes non prius quam Venusiæ  
aut Canusii constiterunt, se nobis merito prætulerint  
gloriatique sint in se plus quam in nobismet præsidii rei  
publicæ esse: sed illis et bonis ac fortibus militibus  
utemini et nobis etiam promptioribus pro patria, quod  
beneficio vestro redempti atque in patriam restituti  
fuerimus. Dilectum ex omni ætate et fortuna habetis, 8  
octo millia servorum audio armari: non minor numerus  
noster est, nec majore pretio redimi possumus quam ii  
emuntur—: nam si conferam nos cum illis, injuriam  
nomini Romano faciam. Illud etiam in tali consilio 9  
animadvertendum vobis censeam, patres conscripti, si  
tamen duriores esse velitis, quod nullo nostro merito  
faciatis, cui nos hosti relicturi sitis: Pyrrho videlicet,  
qui vos hospitum numero captivos habuit, an barbaro  
ac Pœno, qui utrum avarior an crudelior sit, vix existi-  
mari potest: si videatis catenas squalorem deformitatem  
civium vestrorum, non minus profecto vos ea species  
moveat quam si ex altera parte cernatis stratas Can-  
nensibus campis legiones vestras. Intueri potestis  
sollicitudinem et lacrimas in vestibulo curiæ stantium  
cognatorum nostrorum expectantiumque responsum  
vestrum. Quum ii pro nobis proque iis qui absunt ita 10  
suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem censetis animum ipsorum  
esse, quorum in discrimine vita libertasque est? sed  
si—me dius fidijs—ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra

naturam suam esse velit, nihil tamen nobis vita opus esse censeamus, quum indigni ut redimeremur a vobis  
 11 visi sumus. Rediere Romam quondam remissi a Pyrrho sine pretio capti: sed rediere cum legatis, primoribus  
 12 civitatis, ad redimendos sese missis. Redeam ego in patriam trecentis nummis non aestimatus civis? suum quisque habet animum, patres conscripti: scio in discrimine esse vitam corpusque meum: magis me famæ periculum movet, ne a vobis damnati ac repulsi abeamus: neque enim vos pretio pepercisse homines credent."

- (60) Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba, quæ in comitio erat, clamor flebilis est sublatus, manusque ad curiam tendebant orantes ut sibi liberos fratres cognatos  
 2 redderent. Feminas quoque metus ac necessitas in  
 3 foro ac turbæ virorum immiscuerat. Senatus submotis arbitris consuli cœptus. Ibi quum sententiis variaretur, et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam publice impensam faciendam nec prohibendos ex privato redimi, si quibus argentum in præsentiam deesset, dandam ex ærario pecuniam mutuam prædibusque ac prædiis cavendum populo censerent, tum T. Manlius Torquatus, priscae ac nimis duræ, ut plerisque videatur, severitatis, interrogatus sententiam ita loquutus fertur: "Si tantummodo postulassent legati pro his, qui in hostium potestate sunt, ut redimerentur, sine ullius insectatione eorum brevi sententiam peregissem: quid enim aliud quam admonendi essetis, ut morem traditum a patribus necessario  
 4 ad rem militarem exemplo servaretis. Nunc autem, quum prope gloriati sint quod se hostibus dediderint, præferrique non captis modo in acie ab hostibus sed etiam iis, qui Venusiam Canusiumque pervenerunt, atque ipsi C. Terentio consuli, æquum censuerint, nihil vos eorum, patres conscripti, quæ illic acta sunt, igno-

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rare patiar. Atque utinam hæc, quæ apud vos acturus 5  
sum, Canusii apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum  
testem ignaviæ cujusque et virtutis: aut unus hic sal-  
tem adesset P. Sempronius, quem si isti ducem sequuti  
essent, milites hodie in castris Romanis non captivi in  
hostium potestate essent. Et quum, fessis pugnando 6  
hostibus, tum victoria lætis et ipsis plerisque regressis  
in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum liberam habuis-  
sent, et septem millia armatorum hominum erumpere  
etiam per confertos hostes possent, neque per se ipsi  
id facere conati sunt neque alium sequi voluerunt.  
Nocte prope tota P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit 7  
monere adhortari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra,  
dum quies ac silentium esset, dum nox inceptum tegere  
posset, se ducem sequerentur: ante lucem pervenire in  
tuta loca in sociorum urbes posse. Sicut avorum me- 8  
moria P. Decius tribunus militum in Samnio, sicut  
nobis adolescentibus priore Punico bello Calpurnius  
Flamma trecentis voluntariis, quum ad tumulum eos  
capiendum situm inter medios duceret hostes, dixit  
'Moriatur, milites, et morte nostra eripiamus ex  
obsidione circumventas legiones:' si hoc P. Sempronius  
diceret, nec viros quidem nec Romanos vos duceret,  
si nemo tantæ virtutis exstitisset comes. Viam non ad 9  
gloriam magis quam ad salutem ferentem demonstrat,  
reduces in patriam ad parentes ad conjuges ac liberos  
facit. Ut servemini, deest vobis animus—quid, si  
moriendum pro patria esset, faceretis? quinquaginta  
millia civium sociorumque circa vos eo ipso die cæsa  
jacent: si tot exempla virtutis non movent, nihil  
umquam movebit: si tanta clades vilem vitam non fe-  
cit, nulla faciet. Et liberi atque incolumes desiderate 10  
patriam: immo desiderate, dum patria est, dum cives

- ejus estis. Sero nunc desideratis, deminuti capite, abalienati jure civium, servi Carthaginiensium facti.
- 11 Pretio redituri estis eo, unde ignavia ac nequitia abistis? P. Sempronium civem vestrum non audistis arma capere ac sequi se jubentem: Hannibalem post paulo audistis
- 12 castra prodi et arma tradi jubentem. Quam ego ignaviam istorum accuso, quum scelus possim accusare! non enim modo sequi recusarunt bene monentem, sed obistere ac retinere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis viri fortissimi inertes submovissent: prius, inquam, P. Sempronio per civium agmen quam per hostium fuit
- 13 erumpendum. Hos cives patria desideret, et quorum si cæteri similes fuissent, neminem hodie ex iis qui ad Cannas pugnaverunt civem haberet? Ex millibus septem armatorum sexcenti exstiterunt qui erumpere auderent, qui in patriam liberi atque armati redirent: neque iis sexcenta millia hostium obstitere. Quam tutum iter duarum prope legionum agminis futurum censetis fuisse? Haberetis hodie viginti millia armatorum
- 14 Canusii fortia fidelia, patres conscripti. Nunc autem quemadmodum hi boni fidelesque—nam fortes ne ipsi quidem dixerint—cives esse possunt? nisi quis credere potest fuisse, ut erumpentibus, quin erumperent, obistere conati sunt, aut non invidere eos quum incolumitatum gloriæ illorum per virtutem partæ, quum sibi timorem ignaviamque servitutis ignominiosæ causam esse sciant. Maluerunt in tentoriis latentes simul lucem atque hostem exspectare, quum silentio noctis erumpendi
- 15 occasio esset. Ad erumpendum e castris defuit animus, ad tutanda fortiter castra animum habuerunt: dies noctesque aliquot obsessi vallum armis, se ipsi tutati vallo sunt: tandem ultima ausi passique, quum omnia subsidia vitæ abessent adfectisque fame viribus arma jam sus-

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tinere nequirent, necessitatibus magis humanis quam armis victi sunt—: orto sole ab hostibus ad vallum accessum, ante secundam horam nullam fortunam certaminis experti tradiderunt arma ac se ipsos: hæc vobis ipsorum per biduum militia fuit. Quum in acie stare ac pugnare decuerat, tum in castra refugerunt: quum pro vallo pugnandum erat, castra tradiderunt neque in acie neque in castris utiles. Et vos redimam? quum erumpere castris oportet, cunctamini ac manetis: quum manere castra tutari armis necesse est, et castra et arma et vos ipsos traditis hosti. Ego non magis istos redimendos, patres conscripti, censeo, quam illos dedendos Hannibali, qui per medios hostes e castris cruperunt ac per summam virtutem se patriæ restituerunt.” Postquam Manlius dixit, quamquam patrum quoque plerosque captivi cognatione adtingebant, præter exemplum civitatis minime in captivos jam inde antiquitus indulgentis, pecuniæ quoque summa homines movit, qua nec ærarium exhaurire—magna jam summa erogata in servos ad militiam emendos armandosque—nec Hannibalem maxime hujusce rei, ut fama erat, egentem locupletari volebant. Quum triste responsum, non redimi captivos, redditum esset novusque super veterem luctus tot jactura civium adjectus esset, cum magnis fletibus questibus legatos ad portam prosequuti sunt. Unus ex iis domum abiit, quod fallaci reditu in castra jure jurando se exsolvisset. Quod ubi innotuit relatumque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt comprehendendum et custodibus publice datis deducendum ad Hannibalem esse.

Est et alia de captivis fama: decem primos venisse: de eis quum dubitatum in senatu esset, admitterentur in urbem necne, ita admissos esse ne tamen iis senatus daretur: morantibus deinde longius omnium spe alios



tres insuper legatos venisse, L. Scribonium et C. Calpurnium et L. Manlium: tum demum ab cognato Scribonii tribuno plebis de redimendis captivis relatum esse nec censuisse redimendos senatum, et novos legatos tres ad Hannibalem revertisse, decem veteres remansisse, quod per causam recognoscendi nomina captivorum ad Hannibalem ex itinere regressi religione sese exsolvissent: de iis dedendis magna contentione actum in senatu esse victosque paucis sententiis qui dedendos censuerint: cæterum proximis censoribus adeo omnibus notis ignominiisque confectos esse, ut quidam eorum mortem sibi ipsi extemplo consciverint, cæteri non foro solum omni deinde vita sed prope luce ac publico caruerint. Mirari magis adeo discrepare inter auctores, quam quid veri sit discernere queas.

- 7 Quanto autem major ea clades superioribus cladibus fuerit, vel ea res indicio sit, quod fides sociorum, quæ ad eum diem firma steterat, tum labare cœpit, nulla profecto alia de re quam quod desperaverant de imperio.
- 8 Defecere autem ad Pœnos hi populi, Atellani Calatini Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites præter Pentros, Brutii omnes, Lucani: præter hos Surrentini et Græcorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini Metapontini Crotonienses
- 9 Locrique, et Cisalpini omnes Galli. Nec tamen eæ clades defectionesque sociorum moverunt ut pacis umquam mentio apud Romanos fieret, neque ante consulis Romam adventum nec postquam is rediit renovavitque
- 10 memoriam acceptæ cladis. Quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo civitas fuit ut consuli ex tanta clade, cujus ipse causa maxima fuisset, redeunti et obviam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit et gratiæ actæ quod de re publica non desperasset: qui si Carthaginiensium ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.

TITI LIVII  
AB URBE CONDITA  
HISTORIARUM.

LIBER XXIII.



Et Hannibal post Cannensem pugnam castraque (1)  
direpta confestim ex Apulia in Samnium moverat, acci-  
tus in Hirpinos a Statio Trebio pollicente se Comp-  
sam traditurum. Compsanus erat Trebius nobilis inter 2  
suos: sed premebat eum Mopsiorum factio, familiæ  
per gratiam Romanorum potentis: post famam Can-  
nensis pugnæ vulgatumque Trebii sermonibus adven-  
tum Hannibalis quum Compsam urbem excessissent, sine  
certamine tradita urbs Pœno præsidiumque acceptum  
est. Ibi præda omni atque impedimentis relictis exer- 3  
citu partito Magonem regionis ejus urbes aut defi-  
cientes ab Romanis accipere aut detractantes cogere ad  
defectionem jubet, ipse per agrum Campanum mare  
inferum petit oppugnaturus Neapolim, ut urbem mari-  
timam haberet. Ubi fines Neapolitanorum intravit, 4  
Numidas partim in insidiis—et pleræque cavæ sunt  
viæ sinusque occulti—quacumque apte poterat dispo-  
suit, alios præ se actam prædam ex agris ostentantes  
obequitare portis jussit. In quos, quia nec multi et 5  
incompositi videbantur, quum turma equitum erupisset,

ab cedentibus consulto tracta in insidias circumventa est: nec evasisset quisquam, ni mare propinquum et haud procul litore naves piscatoriæ pleræque conspectæ  
 6 peritis nandi dedissent effugium. Aliquot tamen eo prælio nobiles juvenes capti cæsique, inter quos et Hegeas, præfectus equitum, intemperantius cedentes  
 7 sequutus cecidit. Ab urbe oppugnanda Pœnum absteruere conspecta mœnia haudquaquam prompta oppugnant.

- (2) Inde Capuam flectit iter luxuriantem longa felicitate atque indulgentia fortunæ, maxime tamen inter corrupta omnia licentia plebis sine modo libertatem exercentis.  
 2 Senatum et sibi et plebi obnoxium Pacuvius Calavius fecerat, nobilis idem ac popularis homo, cæterum malis  
 3 artibus nactus opes. Is quum eo forte anno, quo res male gesta ad Trasumennum est, in summo magistratu esset, jam diu infestam senatui plebem ratus per occasionem novandi res magnum ausuram facinus ut, si in ea loca Hannibal cum victore exercitu venissent, trucidato senatu traderet Capuam Pœnis, improbus homo sed non ad extremum perditus, quum mallet incolumi quam eversa re publica dominari, nullam autem incolumem esse orbatam publico consilio crederet, rationem init qua et senatum servaret et obnoxium sibi  
 4 ac plebi faceret. Vocato senatu quum sibi defectionis ab Romanis consilium placiturum nullo modo, nisi necessarium fuisset, præfatus esset, quippe qui liberos ex Appii Claudii filia haberet filiamque Romæ nuptum Livio dedisset, cæterum majorem multo rem magisque  
 5 timendam instare. Non enim per defectionem ad tollendum ex civitate senatum plebem spectare, sed per cædem senatus vacuam rem publicam tradere Hannibali  
 6 ac Pœnis velle. Eo se periculo posse liberare eos, si

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se permittant sibi et certaminum in re publica obliti credant. Quum omnes victi metu permetterent, "Claudam" inquit "in curia vos, et tamquam et ipse cogitati facinoris particeps adprobando consilia, quibus nequam adversarer, viam saluti vestræ inveniam. In hoc 7 fidem quam vultis ipsi accipite." Fide data egressus 8 claudi curiam jubet præsidiumque in vestibulo reliquit, ne quis adire curiam injussu suo neve inde egredi possit. Tum vocato ad concionem populo "Quod sæpe" (3) inquit "optastis, Campani, ut supplicii sumendi vobis ex improbo ac detestabili senatu potestas esset, eam non per tumultum expugnantes domos singulorum, quas præsiidiis clientium servorumque tuentur, cum summo vestro periculo, sed tutam habetis ac liberam: clausos omnes in curiam accipite solos inermes. Nec 2 quicquam raptim aut forte temere egeritis, de singulorum capite vobis jus sententiæ dicendæ faciam, ut quas quisque emeritus est pœnas pendat. Sed ante 3 omnia ita vos iræ indulgere oportet, ut potio rem ira salutem atque utilitatem vestram habeatis. Et enim 4 hos, ut opinor, odistis senatores, non senatum omnino habere non vultis: quippe aut rex, quod abominandum, aut quod unum liberæ civitatis consilium est, senatus habendus est. Itaque duæ res simul agendæ 5 vobis sunt, ut et veterem senatum tollatis et novum cooptetis. Citari singulos senatores jubebo, de quo 6 rum capite vos consulam: quod de quoque censueritis, fiet. Sed prius in ejus locum virum fortem ac 7 strenuum novum senatorem cooptabitis, quam de noxio supplicium sumatur." Inde consedit et nominibus in 8 urnam coniectis citari quod primum sorte nomen excidit, ipsumque e curia produci jussit. Ubi auditum est 9 nomen, malum et improbum pro se quisque clamare

- 10 et supplicio dignum. Tum Pacuvius "Video quæ de  
hoc sententia sit: date igitur pro malo atque improbo  
11 bonum senatorem et justum." Primo silentium erat  
inopia potioris subjiciundi, deinde, quum aliquis omissa  
verecundia quempiam nominasset, multo major ex-  
templo clamor oriebatur, quum alii negarent nosse,  
alii nunc probra nunc humilitatem sordidamque inopiam  
12 et pudendæ artis aut quæstus genus objicerent. Hoc  
multo magis in secundo ac tertio citato senatore est  
factum, ut ipsius pœnitere homines appareret, quem  
autem in ejus substituerent locum, deesse, quia nec  
eosdem nominari adtinebat, nihil aliud quam ad audienda  
probra nominatos, et multo humiliores obscurioresque  
13 cæteri erant eis qui primi memoriæ occurrebant. Ita  
dilabi homines, notissimum quodque malum maxime  
tolerabile dicentes esse jubentesque senatum ex cus-  
todia dimitti.
- (4) Hoc modo Pacuvius quum obnoxium vitæ beneficio  
senatum multo sibi magis quam plebi fecisset, sine  
2 armis jam omnibus concedentibus dominabatur. Hinc  
senatores omissa dignitatis libertatisque memoria ple-  
bem adulari: salutare, benigne invitare, apparatis ac-  
cipere epulis, eas causas suscipere, et semper parti  
adesse, secundum eam litem judices dare, quæ magis  
popularis aptiorque in vulgus favori conciliando esset.  
3 Jam vero nihil in senatu actum aliter quam si plebis  
ibi esset concilium. Prona semper civitas in luxuriam—  
non ingeniorum modo vitio sed affluenti copia volupta-  
tium et illecebris omnis amœnitatis maritimæ terres-  
trisque—, tum vero ita obsequio principum et licentia  
plebei lascivire, ut nec libidini nec sumptibus modus  
4 esset. Ad contemptum legum magistratuum senatus  
accessit tum post Cannensem cladem ut, cujus aliqua

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verecundia erat, Romanum quoque spernerent imperium. Id modo erat in mora ne extemplo deficerent, quod 5  
 connubium vetustum multas familias claras ac potentes Romanis miscuerat, et quod, quum militarent aliquot apud Romanos, maximum vinculum erant trecenti equites, nobilissimus quisque Campanorum, in præsidia Sicularum urbium delecti ab Romanis ac missi. Horum (5)  
 varentes cognatique ægre pervicerunt ut legati ad consulem Romanum mitterentur. Ii nondum Canu- 2  
 sium profectum, sed Venusiæ cum paucis ac semiermibus consulem invenerunt, quam poterat maxime miserabilem bonis sociis, superbis atque infidelibus.—ut erant Campani—spernendum. Et auxit rerum suarum suique 3  
 contemptum consul nimis detegendo cladem nudandoque. Nam quum legati ægre ferre senatum popu- 4  
 lumque Campanum adversi quicquam evenisse Romanis nuntiassent pollicerenturque omnia quæ ad bellum opus essent, “Morem magis” inquit “loquendi cum sociis servastis, Campani, jubentes quæ opus essent ad bellum imperare, quam convenienter ad præsentem fortunæ nostræ statum loquuti estis. Quid enim nobis ad Can- 5  
 nas relictum est, ut, quia aliquid habeamus, id quod est expleri ab sociis velimus? pedites vobis imperemus, tamquam equites habeamus? pecuniam deesse dicamus, tamquam ea tantum desit? nihilne quod suppleremus quidem nobis reliquit fortuna: legiones equitatus arma signa equi virique pecunia commeatus aut in acie aut binis postero die amissis castris perierunt. Itaque non juvetis nos in bello oportet, Campani, sed 6  
 pæne bellum pro nobis suscipiatis. Veniat in mentem, 7  
 ut trepidos quondam majores vestros intra mœnia con-  
 pulsos, nec Samnitum modo hostem sed etiam Sidicinum paventes, receptos in fidem ad Saticulam defenderimus,

ceptumque propter vos cum Samnitibus bellum per centum prope annos variante fortuna eventum tulerimus.

- 8 Adjicite ad hæc, quod fœdus æquum dediticiis, quod leges vestras, quod ad extremum—id quod ante Cannensem certe cladem maximum fuit—civitatem nostram magnæ parti vestrâ dedimus communicavimusque vobiscum. Itaque communem vos hanc cladem, quæ accepta est, credere, Campani, oportet, communem patriam tuendam arbitrari esse. Non cum Samnite aut Etrusco res est, ut, quod a nobis ablatum sit, in Italia tamen imperium maneat: Pœnus hostis, ne Africæ quidem indigena, ab ultimis terrarum oris—freto Oceani Herculisque columnis—expertem omnis juris et conditionis et linguæ prope humanæ militem trahit. Hunc natura et moribus immitem ferumque insuper dux ipse efferavit pontibus ac molibus ex humanorum corporum strue faciendis et, quod proloqui etiam piget, vesci corporibus humanis docendo. His infandis pastos epulis, quos contingere etiam nefas sit, videre atque habere dominos, et ex Africa et a Carthagine jura petere et Italiam Numidarum ac Maurorum pati provinciam esse—cui non genito modo in Italia detestabile sit? pulchrum erit, Campani, prolapsam clade Romanum imperium vestra fide vestris viribus retentum ac recuperatum esse. Triginta millia peditum quattuor equitum arbitror ex Campania scribi posse: jam pecuniæ adfatim est frumentique. Si parem fortunæ vestræ fidem habetis, nec Hannibal se vicisse sentiet nec Romani victos esse.”
- (6) Hac oratione consulis dimissis redeuntibusque domum legatis unus ex his Vibius Virrius tempus venisse ait, quo Campani non agrum solum ab Romanis quondam per injuriam ademptum recuperare, sed imperio etiam

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Italiæ potiri possint. Fœdus enim cum Hannibale 2  
 quibus velint legibus facturos, neque controversiam  
 fore quin, quum ipse confecto bello Hannibal victor in  
 Africam decedat exercitumque deportet, Italiæ imperium  
 Campanis relinquatur. Hæc Virrio loquenti adsensi 3  
 omnes ita renuntiant legationem, uti deletum omnibus  
 videretur nomen Romanum. Extemplo plebis ad de- 4  
 fectionem ac pars major senatus spectare. Extracta  
 tamen auctoritatibus seniorum per paucos dies est res.  
 Postremo vincit sententia plurium, ut iidem legati, qui 5  
 ad consulem Romanum ierant, ad Hannibalem mit-  
 terentur. Quo priusquam iretur certumque defectionis 6  
 consilium esset, Romam legatos missos a Campanis in  
 quibusdam annalibus invenio postulantes, ut alter consul  
 Campanus fieret, si rem Romanam adjuvari vellent.  
 Indignatione orta submoveri a curia jussos esse, mis- 7  
 sumque lictorem qui ex urbe educeret eos atque eo die  
 manere extra fines Romanos juberet. Quia nimis com- 8  
 par Latinorum quondam postulatio erat, Cœliusque et  
 alii id haud sine causa prætermiserant scriptores, ponere  
 pro certo sum veritus. Legati ad Hannibalem venerunt (7)  
 pacemque cum eo conditionibus fecerunt, ne quis im-  
 perator magistratusve Pœnorum jus ullum in civem  
 Campanum haberet, neve civis Campanus invitus mili-  
 taret munusve faceret, ut suæ leges sui magistratus  
 Capuæ essent, ut trecentos ex Romanis captivis Pœnus  
 daret Campanis quos ipsi elegissent, cum quibus equ-  
 tum Campanorum qui in Sicilia stipendia facerent  
 permutatio fieret. Hæc pacta. Illa insuper quam 2  
 quæ pacta erant facinora Campani ediderunt: nam præ-  
 fectos sociûm civesque Romanos alios, partim aliquo  
 militiæ munere occupatos partim privatis negotiis im-  
 plicitos, plebs repente omnes comprehensos velut cus-



todie causa balneis includi jussit, ubi fervore atque aestu anima interclusa foedum in modum expirarent.

- 3 Ea ne fierent neu legatio mitteretur ad Pœnum, summa ope Decius Magius, vir cui ad summam auctoritatem nihil præter sanam civium mentem defuit, 4 restiterat. Ut vero præsidium mitti ab Hannibale audivit, Pyrrhi superbam dominationem miserabilemque Tarentinorum servitutem exempla referens, primo ne reciperetur præsidium palam vociferatus est, deinde, ut receptum aut ejiceretur aut, si malum facinus, quod a vetustissimis sociis consanguineisque defecissent, forti ac memorabili facinore purgare vellent, ut interfecto 5 Punico præsidio restituerent Romanis se. Hæc—nec enim occulta agebantur—quum relata Hannibali essent, primo misit qui vocarent Magium ad sese in castra, deinde, quum is ferociter negasset se iturum, nec enim Hannibali jus esse in civem Campanum, concitatus ira Pœnus comprehendi hominem vinctumque adtrahi ad sese jussit : veritus deinde, ne quid inter vim tumultus atque ex concitatione animorum inconsulti certaminis oreretur, ipse, præmisso nuntio ad Marium Blosium prætorem Campanum postero die se Capuæ futurum, 6 proficiscitur e castris cum modico præsidio. Marius concione advocata edicit ut frequentes cum conjugibus 7 ac liberis obviam irent Hannibali. Ab universis id non obedienter modo sed enixe, favore etiam vulgi et studio visendi tot jam victoriis clarum imperatorem, factum est. Decius Magius nec obviam egressus est nec, quo timorem aliquem ex conscientia significare posset, privatim se tenuit : in foro cum filio clientibusque paucis otiose inambulavit trepidante tota civitate ad excipien- 8 dum Pœnum visendumque. Hannibal ingressus urbem senatum extemplo postulat, precantibusque inde pri-

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moribus Campanorum, ne quid eo die seriæ rei gereret diemque ut ipse adventu suo festum lætus ac libens celebraret, quamquam præceps ingenio in iram erat, tamen, ne quid in principio negaret, visenda urbe magnam partem diei consumpsit.

Deversatus est apud Ninnios Celeres, Sthenium Pa-(8)  
 cuciumque, inclytos nobilitate ac divitiis. Eo Pacuvius 2  
 Calavius, de quo ante dictum est, princeps factionis  
 ejus quæ traxerat rem ad Pœnos, filium juvenem ad-  
 duxit, abstractum abs Decii Magii latere, cum quo  
 ferocissime pro Romana societate adversus Punicum  
 foedus steterat, nec eum aut inclinata in partem alteram  
 civitas aut patria majestas sententia depulerat. Huic 3  
 tum pater juveni Hannibalem deprecando magis quam  
 purgando placavit, victusque patris precibus lacrimis-  
 que etiam ad cœnam eum cum patre vocari jussit, cui  
 convivio neminem Campanum præter quam hospites  
 Vibelliumque Tauream insignem bello virum adhibi-  
 turus erat. Epulari cœperunt de die, et convivium 4  
 non ex more Punico aut militari disciplina esse sed ut  
 in civitate atque etiam domo diti ac luxuriosa omnibus  
 voluptatum illecebris instructum. Unus nec domino- 5  
 rum invitatione nec ipsius interdum Hannibalis Calavii  
 filius Perolla ad vinum potandum impelli potuit, ipse  
 valetudinem excusans, patre animi quoque ejus haud  
 mirabilem interturbationem causante. Solis ferme oc- 6  
 casu patrem Calavium ex convivio egressum sequutus  
 filius: ubi in secretum—hortus erat posticis ædium  
 partibus—pervenerunt, "Consilium" inquit "adfero,  
 pater, quo non veniam solum peccati, quod defecimus  
 ad Hannibalem, impetraturi ab Romanis sed in multo  
 majore dignitate et gratia simus Campani, quam um-  
 quam fuimus." Quum mirabundus pater, quidnam id "

esset consilii, quæreret, toga rejecta ab humero latus succinctum gladio nudat: "Jam ego" inquit "sanguine Hannibalis sanciam Romanum fœdus: te id prius scire volui, si forte abesse, dum facinus patratur, malles."

- (9) Quæ ubi audivit viditque senex, velut si jam agendis quæ audiebat interesset, amens metu "Per ego te" inquit, "fili, quæcumque jura liberos jungunt parentibus, precor quæsoque, ne ante oculos patris facere et pati omnia infanda velis: paucae horæ sunt, intra quas jurantes per quidquid deorum est dextræ dextras jungentes fidem obstrinximus—ut sacratas fide manus digressi a colloquio extemplo in eum armaremus? ab hospitali mensa surgis, ad quam tertius Campanorum adhibitus es ab Hannibale, ut eam ipsam mensam cruentares hospitis sanguine? Hannibalem pater filio meo potui placare, filium Hannibali non possum? sed sit nihil sancti, non fides non religio non pietas, audeantur infanda, si non perniciem nobis cum scelere ferunt.
- 2 Unus adgressurus es Hannibalem? quid illa turba tot liberorum servorumque, quid in unum intenti omnium oculi, quid tot dextræ—torpescentne in amentia illa? vultum ipsius Hannibalis, quem non armati exercitus sustinerent, quem horret populus Romanus, tu sustinebis? ut alia auxilia desint: me ipsum ferire corpus meum opponentem pro corpore Hannibalis sustinebis? atque per meum pectus petendus ille tibi transfigendusque est. Sed hic te deterreri sine potius quam illico vinci: valeant preces apud te meæ sicut pro te hodie
- 4 valuerunt." Lacrimantem inde juvenem cernens medium complectitur atque osculo hærens non ante precibus abstitit, quam pervicit ut gladium poneret fidem-
- 5 que daret nihil facturum tale. Tum juvenis "Ego quidem" inquit "quam patriæ debeo pietatem exsolvam

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patri: tuam doleo vicem, cui ter proditæ patriæ sustinendum est crimen, semel quum defectionem insti ab Romanis, iterum quum pacis cum Hannibale fuisti auctor, tertio hodie, quum restituendæ Romanis Capuæ mora atque impedimentum es. Tu, patria, ferrum, 6 quo pro te armatus hanc arcem hostium ini, quoniam parens extorquet, recipe." Hæc quum dixisset, gladium in publicum trans maceriam horti abiecit et, quo minus res suspecta esset, se ipse convivio reddidit.

Postero die senatus frequens datus Hannibali. Ubi (10) prima ejus oratio perblanda ac benigna fuit, qua gratias egit Campanis quod amicitiam suam Romanæ societati præposuissent, et inter cætera magnifica promissa pollicitus, brevi caput Italiæ omni Capuam fore juraque inde cum cæteris populis Romanum etiam petiturum. Unum esse exsortem Punicæ amicitie fœderisque secum 2 facti, quem neque esse Campanum neque dici debere, Magium Decium: eum postulare, ut sibi dedatur, ac se præsentē de eo referatur senatusque consultum fiat. Omnes in eam sententiam ierunt, quamquam magnæ 3 parti et vir indignus ea calamitate et haud parvo initio minui videbatur jus libertatis. Egressus curia in tem- 4 plo magistratuum consedit, comprehendique Decium Magium atque ante pedes destitutum causam dicere iussit. Qui quum manente ferocia animi negaret lege 5 fœderis id cogi posse, tum injectæ catenæ ducique ante lictorem in castra est jussus. Quoad capite aperto est 6 ductus, concionabundus incessit ad circumfusam undique multitudinem vociferans: "Habetis libertatem, Campani, quam petistis: foro medio luce clara videntibus vobis nulli Campanorum secundus vinctus ad mortem rapior. Quid violentius capta Capua fieret? ite 7 obviam Hannibali, exornate urbem diemque adventus

- ejus consecrate, ut hunc triumphum de cive vestro spec-  
 8 tetis." Hæc vociferante quum moveri vulgus videretur,  
 obvolutum caput est ociusque rapi extra portam jussus.  
 9 Ita in castra perducitur, extemploque impositus in  
 navem et Carthaginem missus, ne motu aliquo Capuæ  
 ex indignitate rei orto senatum quoque pœniteret dediti  
 principis, et legatione missa ad repetendum eum ne  
 aut negando rem, quam primam peterent, offendendi  
 sibi novi socii, aut tribuendo habendus Capuæ esset  
 10 seditionis ac turbarum auctor. Navem Cyrenas detulit  
 11 tempestas, quæ tum in ditione regum erant. Ibi quum  
 Magius ad statuam Ptolemæi regis confugisset, depor-  
 tatus a custodibus Alexandream ad Ptolemæum, dum  
 eum docuisset contra jus fœderis vinctum se ab Hanni-  
 bale esse, vinclis liberatur, permissumque ut rediret,  
 12 seu Romam seu Capuam mallet. Nec Magius Capuam  
 sibi tutam dicere, et Romam eo tempore, quo inter  
 Romanos Campanosque bellum sit, transfugæ magis  
 quam hospitis fore domicilium: nusquam malle quam  
 in regno ejus vivere, quem vindicem atque auctorem  
 habeat libertatis.
- (11) Dum hæc geruntur, Q. Fabius Pictor legatus a  
 Delphis Romam redit responsumque ex scripto reci-  
 2 tavit. Divi divæque in eo erant, quibus quoque modo  
 supplicaretur: tum "Si ita faxitis, Romani, vestræ res  
 meliores facilioresque erunt, magisque ex sententia res  
 publica vestra vobis procedet victoriaque duelli populi  
 3 Romani erit. Pythio Apollini re publica vestra bene  
 gesta servataque lucris meritis donum mittitote, de-  
 que præda manubiis spoliisque honorem habetote, las-  
 4 civiam a vobis prohibetote." Hæc ubi ex Græco carmine  
 interpretata recitavit, tum dixit se oraculo egressum  
 extemplo iis omnibus divis rem divinam thure ac vino

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fecisse, jussumque a templi antistite, sicut coronatus laurea corona et oraculum adisset et rem divinam fecisset, ita coronatum navem ascendere nec ante deponere eam quam Romam pervenisset. Se quæcum-<sup>6</sup> que imperata sint cum summa religione ac diligentia exsequutum coronam Romæ in aram Apollinis deposuisse. Senatus decrevit ut eæ res divinæ supplicationesque primo quoque tempore cum cura fierent.

Dum hæc Romæ atque in Italia geruntur, nuntius<sup>6</sup> victoriæ ad Cannas Carthaginem venerat Mago Hamilcaris filius, non ex ipsa acie a fratre missus, sed retentus aliquot dies in recipiendis civitatibus Bruttiorum quæque deficiebant. Is, quum ei senatus datus esset,<sup>7</sup> res gestas in Italia a fratre exponit: cum sex imperatoribus eum, quorum quattuor consules duo dictator ac magister equitum fuerint, cum sex consularibus exercitibus acie conflixisse, occidissee supra ducenta millia hostium, supra quinquaginta cepisse. Ex quat-<sup>8</sup> tuor consulibus duos occidissee, ex duobus sancium alterum, alterum toto amisso exercitu vix cum quinquaginta hominibus effugisse. Magistrum equitum,<sup>9</sup> quæ consularis potestas sit, fusum fugatum, dictatorem, quia se in aciem numquam commiserit, unicum haberi imperatorem. Bruttios Apulosque partim Samnitium<sup>10</sup> ac Lucanorum defecisse ad Pœnos: Capuam, quod caput non Campaniæ modo sed post adflictam rem Romanarum Cannensi pugna Italiæ sit, Hannibali se tradidissee. Pro his tantis totque victoriis æquum esse<sup>11</sup> grates deis immortalibus agi haberique. Ad fidem<sup>(12)</sup> deinde tam lætarum rerum effundi in vestibulo curiæ jussit annulos aureos, qui tantus acervus fuit ut metientibus dimidium super tres modios explesse sint quidam auctores. Fama tenuit, quæ propior vero est, haud 2

- 3 plus fuisse modio. Adjecit deinde verbis, quo majoris cladis indicium esset, neminem nisi equitum atque  
4 eorum ipsorum primores id gerere insigne. Summa fuit orationis, quo propius spem belli perficiendi sit, eo magis omni ope juvandum Hannibalem esse: procul enim ab domo militiam esse in media hostium terra: magnam vim frumenti pecuniæ absumi, et tot acies, ut hostium exercitus delesse, ita victoris etiam copias parte aliqua minuisse: mittendum igitur supplementum esse, mittendam in stipendium pecuniam frumentumque tam bene meritis de nomine Punico militibus.
- 5 Secundum hæc dicta Magonis lætis omnibus Himilco vir factionis Barcinæ locum Hannonis increpandi esse ratus, "Quid est, Hanno?" inquit: "etiam nunc pœnitet belli suscepti adversus Romanos? jube dedi Hannibalem, veta in tam prosperis rebus grates deis immortalibus agi: audiamus Romanum senatorem in Carthaginensium curia." Tum Hanno: "Tacuissem hodie, patres conscripti, ne quid in communi omnium gaudio, minus lætum quod esset vobis, loquerer: nunc interroganti senatori, pœniteatne adhuc suscepti adversus Romanos belli, si reticeam, aut superbus aut obnoxius videar, quorum alterum est hominis alienæ libertatis obliti, alterum suæ. Respondeam, inquit, Himilconi, non desisse pœnitere me belli neque desitutum ante invictum vestrum imperatorem incusare, quam finitum aliqua tolerabili conditione bellum videro: nec mihi pacis antiquæ desiderium ulla alia res quam pax nova finiet.
- 6 Itaque ista, quæ modo Mago jactavit, Himilconi cæterisque Hannibalis satellitibus jam læta sunt: mihi possunt læta esse, quia res bello bene gestæ, si volumus  
7 fortuna uti, pacem nobis æquiores dabunt. Nam si prætermittimus hoc tempus, quo magis dare quam ac-

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cipere possumus videri pacem, vereor ne hæc quoque lætitia luxuriet nobis ac vana evadat. Quæ tamen nunc quoque qualis est? occidi exercitus hostium—mittite milites mihi. Quid aliud rogares, si esses victus? hostium cepi bina castra, prædæ videlicet plena et commeatum—frumentum et pecuniam date. Quid aliud, si spoliatus si exutus castris esses, peteres? et ne omnia ipse mirer—mihi quoque enim, quoniam respondi Himilconi, interrogare jus fasque est—velim seu Himilco seu Mago respondeat, quum ad internecionem Romani imperii pugnatum ad Cannas sit constetque in defectionem totam Italiam esse, primum, ecquis Latini nominis populus defecerit ad nos, deinde, ecquis homo ex quinque et triginta tribubus ad Hannibalem transfugerit?” Quum utrumque Mago negasset, “Hostium quidem ergo” inquit “adhuc nimis multum superest. Sed multitudo ea quid animorum quidve spei habeat, 11 scire velim.” Quum id nescire Mago diceret, “Nihil (13) facilius scitu est” inquit. “Ecquos legatos ad Hannibalem Romani miserunt de pace? ecquam denique mentionem pacis Romæ factam esse adlatum ad vos est?” Quum id quoque negasset, “Bellum igitur” inquit “tam integrum habemus quam habuimus qua die Hannibal in Italiam est transgressus. Quam varia victoria 3 priore Punico bello fuerit, plerique qui meminerimus supersumus: numquam terra marique magis prosperæ res nostræ visæ sunt quam ante consules C. Lutatium et A. Postumium fuerunt: Lutatio et Postumio consulibus devicti ad Ægates insulas sumus. Quod si—id 4 quod dî omen avertant—nunc quoque fortuna aliquid variaverit, tum pacem speratis quum vincemur, quam nunc quum vincimus dat nemo? ego, si quis de pace consulet seu deferenda hostibus seu accipienda, habeo



quid sententiæ dicam: si de his quæ Mago postulat refertis, nec victoribus mitti adtinere puto, et frustrantibus nos falsa atque inani spe multo minus censeo  
 5 mittenda esse." Haud multos movit Hannonis oratio, nam et simulas cum familia Barcina leviozem auctorem faciebat, et occupati animi præsentis lætitia nihil, quo vanius fieret gaudium suum, auribus admittebant, debellatumque mox fore, si adniti paulum voluissent,  
 6 rebantur. Itaque ingenti consensu fit senatus consultum ut Hannibali quattuor millia Numidarum in supplementum et quadraginta elephantis et mille argenti talenta: dictatorque cum Magone in Hispaniam præmissus est ad conducenda viginti millia peditum quattuor equitum, quibus exercitus, qui in Italia quique in Hispania erant, supplerentur.

- (14) Cæterum hæc ut in secundis rebus segniter otioseque gesta. Romanos præter insitam industriam animis  
 2 fortuna etiam cunctari prohibebat. Nam nec consul ulli rei, quæ per eum agenda esset, deerat, et dictator M. Junius Pera rebus divinis perfectis latoque, ut solet, ad populum ut equum escendere liceret, præter duas urbanas legiones, quæ principio anni a consulibus conscriptæ fuerant, et servorum dilectum cohortesque ex agro Piceno et Gallico collectas, ad ultimum prope desperatæ rei publicæ auxilium, quum honesta utilibus cedunt, descendit edixitque, qui capitalem fraudem ausi quique pecuniæ judicati in vinculis essent, qui eorum apud se milites fierent, eos noxa pecuniaque sese ex-  
 3 solvi jussurum. Ea sex millia hominum Gallicis spoliis, quæ triumpho C. Flamini tralata erant, armavit: itaque cum viginti quinque millibus armatorum ab urbe proficiscitur.

- 4 Hannibal Capua recepta quum iterum Neapolita-

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norum animos partim spe partim metu nequiquam  
 temptasset, in agrum Nolanum exercitum traducit, ut  
 non hostiliter statim, quia non desperabat voluntariam  
 deditionem, ita, si morarentur spem, nihil eorum quæ  
 pati aut timere possent prætermisurus. Senatus ac 5  
 maxime primores ejus in societate Romana cum fide  
 perstare, plebs novarum, ut solet, rerum atque Hanni-  
 balis tota esse metumque agrorum populationis et  
 patienda in obsidione multa gravia indignaque propo-  
 nere animo. Neque auctores defectionis deerant. Ita- 6  
 que ubi senatum metus cepit, si propalam tenderent,  
 resisti multitudini concitatæ non posse, secunda simu-  
 lando dilationem mali inveniunt. Placere enim sibi 7  
 defectionem ad Hannibalem simulant: quibus autem  
 conditionibus in fœdus amicitiamque novam transeant,  
 parum constare. Ita spatio sumpto legatos propere ad 8  
 prætorem Romanum Marcellum Claudium, qui Canusii  
 cum exercitu erat, mittunt docentque, quanto in dis-  
 crimine sit Nolana res: agrum Hannibalis esse et  
 Pœnorum, urbem extemplo futuram, ni subveniatur:  
 concedendo plebei senatum, ubi velint defecturos se,  
 ne deficere præfestinarent, effecisse. Marcellus collau- 9  
 datis Nolanis eadem simulatione extrahi rem in suum  
 adventum jussit, interim celari quæ secum acta essent  
 spemque omnem auxilii Romani. Ipse a Canusio Cala- 10  
 tiam petit, atque inde Vulturno amni trajecto perque  
 agrum Saticulanum Trebullanumque super Suessulam  
 per montes Nola pervenit.

Sub adventum prætoris Romani Pœnus agro Nolano (15)  
 excessit et ad mare proxime Neapolim descendit, cupi-  
 dus maritimi oppidi potiundi, quo cursus navibus tutus  
 ex Africa esset. Cæterum postquam Neapolim a præ- 2  
 fecto Romano teneri accepit—M. Junius Silanus erat,

ab ipsis Neapolitanis accitus—, Neapoli quoque sicut  
3 Nola omissa petit Nuceriam. Eam quum aliquamdiu  
circumsedisset, sæpe vi sæpe sollicitandis nequiquam  
nunc plebe nunc principibus, fame demum in deditio-  
nem accepit, pactus ut inermes cum singulis abirent  
4 vestimentis. Deinde, ut qui a principio mitis omnibus  
Italicis præter Romanos videri vellet, præmia atque  
honores, qui remanserint ac militare secum voluissent,  
5 proposuit. Nec ea spe quemquam tenuit: dilapsi om-  
nes, quocumque hospitia aut fortuitus animi impetus  
tulit, per Campaniæ urbes, maxime Nola Neapolim-  
6 que. Quum ferme triginta senatores ac forte primus  
quisque Capuam petissent, exclusi inde, quod portas  
7 Hannibali clausissent, Cumas se contulerunt. Nuce-  
riæ præda militi data est, urbs direpta atque incensa.  
8 Nola Marcellus non sui magis fiducia præsidii quam  
voluntate principum habebat: plebs timebatur et ante  
omnes L. Bantius, quem conscientia temptatæ defec-  
tionis ac metus a prætore Romano nunc ad proditionem  
patriæ, nunc, si ad id fortuna defuisset, ad transfugi-  
9 endum stimulabat. Erat juvenis acer et sociorum ea  
10 tempestate prope nobilissimus eques. Seminecem eum  
ad Cannas in acervo cæsorū corporum inventum cu-  
ratumque benigne etiam cum donis Hannibal domum  
11 remiserat. Ob ejus gratiam meriti rem Nolanam in  
jus ditionemque dare voluerat Pœno, anxiumque eum  
12 et sollicitum cura novandi res prætor cernebat. Cæte-  
rum quum aut pœna cohibendus esset aut beneficio  
conciliandus, sibi adsumpsisse quam hosti ademisse for-  
tē ac strenuum maluit socium, accitumque ad se be-  
nigne appellat: multos eum invidos inter populares  
habere inde existimatu facile esse, quod nemo civis  
Nolanus sibi indicaverit, quam multa ejus egregia

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facinora militaria essent: sed qui in Romanis militaverit castris, non posse obscuram ejus virtutem esse: multos sibi, qui cum eo stipendia fecerint, referre, qui vir esset ille quæque et quotiens pericula pro salute ac dignitate populi Romani adisset, utique Cannensi prælio non prius pugna abstiterit quam prope exsanguis ruina superincidentium virorum equorum armorumque sit oppressus. "Itaque macte virtute esto" inquit: 13  
"apud me tibi omnis honos atque omne præmium erit, et quo frequentior mecum fueris, senties eam rem tibi dignitati atque emolumento esse:" lætoque juveni promissis equum eximium dono dat bigatosque quingentos quæstorem numerare jubet, lictoribus imperat ut eum se adire, quotiens velit, patiantur. Hac comi- (16)  
tate Marcelli ferocis juvenis animus adeo est mollitus, ut nemo inde sociorum rem Romanam fortius ac fidelius juverit, quum Hannibal ad portas esset—Nolam enim rursus a Nuceria movit castra—plebesque Nolana de integro ad defectionem spectaret.

Marcellus sub adventum hostium intra muros se 2  
recepit, non castris metuens sed ne prodendæ urbis occasionem nimis multis in eam imminentibus daret. Instrui deinde utrimque acies cœptæ, Romanorum pro 3  
mœnibus Nolæ, Pœnorum ante castra sua. Prælia 4  
hinc parva inter urbem castraque et vario eventu fiebant, quia duces nec prohibere paucos temere provocantes nec dare signum universæ pugnae volebant. In 5  
hæc quotidiana jam duorum exercituum statione principes Nolanorum nuntiant Marcello, nocturna colloquia inter plebem ac Pœnos fieri statutumque esse ut, quum Romana acies egressa portis iret, impedimenta eorum ac sarcinas diriperent, clauderent deinde portas murosque occuparent, ut potentes rerum suarum atque urbis

- 6 Pœnum inde pro Romano acciperent. Hæc ubi nuntiata Marcello sunt, collaudatis senatoribus Nolanis, priusquam aliqui motus in urbe oreretur, fortunam
- 7 pugnae experiri statuit. Ad tres portas in hostes versas tripertito exercitum instruxit, impedimenta subsequi jussit, calones lixasque et invalidos milites vallum ferre: media porta robora legionum et Romanos equites, duabus circa portis novos milites levemque armaturam ac sociorum equites statuit: Nolani muros portasque adire vetiti, subsidiaque destinata impedimentis data ne occupatis prælio legionibus in ea impetus fieret. Ita
- 9 instructi intra portas stabant. Hannibali sub signis—id quod per aliquot dies fecerat—ad multum diei in acie stanti primo miraculo esse, quod nec exercitus Romanus porta egrederetur nec armatus quisquam in muris esset: ratus deinde prodita colloquia esse metuque residues factos, partem militum in castra remittit jussos propere apparatus omnem oppugnandæ urbis in primam aciem adferre, satis fidens, si cunctantibus instaret, tumultum aliquem in urbe plebem moturam.
- 10 Dum in sua quisque ministeria discursu trepidat ad prima signa succeditque ad muros acies, patefacta repente porta Marcellus signa canere clamoremque tolli ac pedites primum, deinde equites, quanto maximo
- 11 possent impetu in hostem erumpere jubet. Satis terroris tumultusque in aciem mediam intulerant, quum duabus circa portis P. Valerius Flaccus et G. Aurelius legati in cornua hostium erupere: addidere clamorem lixæ calonesque et alia turba custodiæ impedimentorum adposita, ut paucitatem maxime spernentibus Pœnis
- 12 ingentis repente exercitus speciem fecerint. Vix equidem ausim adfirmare, quod quidam auctores sunt, duo millia et octingentos hostium cæsos non plus quingentis

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Romanorum amissis : sed sive tanta sive minor victoria fuit, ingens eo die res ac nescio an maxima illo bello gesta sit : non vinci enim ab Hannibale vincentibus difficilius fuit quam post ea vincere.

Hannibal spe potiundæ Nolæ adempta quum Acerras (17) recessisset, Marcellus extemplo clausis portis custodibusque dispositis, ne quis egrederetur, quæstionem in foro de iis qui clam in colloquiis hostium fuerant habuit : supra septuaginta damnatos prodicionis securi percussit bonaque eorum iussit publica populi Romani esse : et summa rerum senatui tradita cum exercitu omni profectus supra Suessulam castris positus consedit. Pœnus 2 Acerras primum ad voluntariam deditionem conatus perlicere, postquam obstinatos inde videt, obsidere atque oppugnare parat. Cæterum Acerranis plus animi quam 3 virium erat : itaque desperata tutela urbis ut circumvallari mœnia viderunt, priusquam continuarentur hostium opera, per intermissa munimenta neglectasque custodias silentio noctis dilapsi per vias inviaque, qua quemque aut consilium aut error tulit, in urbes Campaniæ, quas satis certum erat non mutâsse fidem, perfugerunt.

Hannibal Acerris direptis atque incensis, quum a 4 Casino dictatorem Romanum legionesque Casilinum acciri nuntiâssent, ne quis tam propinquis hostium castris Capuæ quoque oreretur motus, exercitum ad Casilinum ducit. Casilinum eo tempore quingenti Præ- 5 nestini habebant cum paucis Romanis Latinique nominis, quos eodem audita Cannensis clades contulerat. Hi 6 non confecto Præneste ad diem dilectu serius profecti domo quum Casilinum ante famam adversæ pugnae venissent, et aliis adgregantibus sese Romanis sociisque profecti a Casilino cum satis magno agmine irent,

avertit eos retro Casilinum nuntius Cannensis pugnae.

- 7 Ibi quum dies aliquot suspecti Campanis timentesque cavendis ac struendis in vicem insidiis traduxissent, jamque de Capuae defectione agi accipique Hannibalem satis pro certo haberent, interfectis nocte oppidanis partem urbis quæ cis Vulturnum est—eo enim dividitur amni—occupavere : idque præsidium Casilini habebant
- 8 Romani. Additur et Perusina cohors, homines quadringenti sexaginta, eodem nuntio quo Prænestini paucos
- 9 ante dies Casilinum compulsi. Et satis ferme armatorum ad tam exigua mœnia et flumine altera parte cincta tuenda erat : penuria frumenti, nimium etiam ut videretur hominum, efficiebat.

- (18) Hannibal quum jam inde haud procul esset, Gætulos cum præfecto nomine Isalca præmittit, ac primo, si fiat colloquii copia, verbis benignis ad portas aperiundas præsidiumque accipiendum perlicere jubet, si in pertinacia perstent, rem gerere ac temptare si qua parte invadere urbem possit : ubi ad mœnia accessere, quia silentium erat, solitudo visa : metuque concessum barbarus ratus moliri portas et claustra refringere parat, quum patefactis repente portis cohortes duæ, ad id ipsum instructæ intus, ingenti cum tumultu erumpunt
- 2 stragemque hostium faciunt. Ita primis repulsis Maharbal cum majore robore virorum missus, nec ipse eruptionem cohortium sustinuit : postremo Hannibal castris ante ipsa mœnia oppositis parvam urbem parvumque præsidium summa vi atque omnibus copiis op-
- 3 pugnare parat. Ac dum instat lacessitque corona undique circumdatis mœnibus, aliquot milites et promptissimum quemque e muro turribusque ictos amisit.
- 4 Semel ultro erumpentes agmine elephantorum opposito prope interclusit, trepidosque compulit in urbem satis

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multis ut ex tanta paucitate interfectis: plures cecidissent, ni nox proelio intervenisset. Postero die 5 omnium animi ad oppugnandum accenduntur, utique postquam corona aurea muralis proposita est, atque ipse dux castelli plano loco positi segnem oppugnationem Sagunti expugnatoribus exprobrabat, Cannarum Trasumennique et Trebiæ singulos admonens universosque. Inde vineæ quoque cœptæ agi cuniculique. Nec 6 ad varios conatus hostium aut vis ulla aut ars deerat: socii Romanorum propugnacula adversus vineas statuere, transversis cuniculis hostium cuniculos excipere, et palam et clam cœptis obviam ire, donec pudor etiam Hannibalem ab incepto avertit castrisque communitis ac præsidio modico imposito, ne omissa res videretur, in hiberna Capuam concessit.

Ibi partem majorem hiemis exercitum in tectis habuit, 7 adversus omnia humana mala sæpe ac diu duratum, bonis inexpertum atque insuetum. Itaque quos nulla 8 mali vicerat vis, perdidere nimia bona ac voluptates immodicæ, et eo impensius, quo avidius ex insolentia in eas se merserant. Somnus enim et vinum et epulæ et 9 scorta balineæque et otium consuetudine in dies blandius ita enervaverunt corpora animosque, ut magis deinde præteritæ victoriæ eos quam præsentis tutarentur vires, majusque id peccatum ducis apud peritos artium militarium haberetur, quam quod non ex Cannensi acie protinus ad urbem Romanam duxisset: illa enim cunctatio distulisse modo victoriam videri potuit, hic error vires ademisse ad vincendum. Itaque hercule, velut si cum 10 alio exercitu a Capua exiret, nihil usquam pristinæ disciplinæ tenuit: nam et redierunt plerique scortis impliciti, et, ubi primum sub pellibus haberi cœpti sunt viaque et alius militaris labor excepit, tironum



modo corporibus animisque deficiebant, et deinde per omne æstivorum tempus magna pars sine com meatibus ab signis dilabebantur neque aliæ latebræ quam Capua desertoribus erant.

- (19) Cæterum mitesciente jam hieme educto ex hibernis milite Casilinum redit: ubi quamquam ab oppugnatione cessatum erat, obsidio tamen continua oppidanos præsidiumque ad ultimum inopiæ adduxerat. Castris Romanis Tib. Sempronius præerat dictatore auspiciorum repetendorum causa profecto Romam: Marcellum et ipsum cupientem ferre auxilium obsessis et Vulturnus amnis inflatus aquis et preces Nolanorum atque Aceranorum tenebant, Campanos timentium, si præsidium Romanum abscessisset. Gracchus adsidens tantum Casilino, quia prædictum erat dictatoris ne quid absente eo rei gereret, nihil movebat, quamquam quæ facile omnem patientiam vincerent nuntiabantur a Casilino: nam et præcipitasse se quosdam non tolerantes famem constabat, et stare inermes in muris nuda corpora ad missilium telorum ictus præbentes. Ea ægre patiens Gracchus, quum neque pugnam conserere dictatoris injussu auderet—pugnandum autem esse, si palam frumentum importaret, videbat—neque clam importandi spes esset, farre ex agris circa undique convecto quum complura dolia complèssset, nuntium ad magistratum Casilinum misit ut exciperent dolia quæ amnis deferret.
- 5 Insequenti nocte intentis omnibus in flumen ac spem ab nuntio Romano factam dolia medio missa amni defluerunt, æqualiterque inter omnes frumentum divisum.
- 6 Id postero quoque die ac tertio factum est: nocte et mittebantur et perveniebant, eo custodias hostium
- 7 fallebant. Imbribus deinde continuis citatior solito amnis transverso vertice dolia impulit ad ripam quam

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hostes servabant: ibi hærentia inter obnata ripis salicta conspiciuntur nuntiatumque Hannibali est, et deinde intentiore custodia cautum ne quid falleret Vulturno ad urbem missum. Nuces tamen fusæ ab 7 Romanis castris quum medio amni ad Casilinum defluerent, cratibus excipiebantur. Postremo ad id ventum inopiæ est, ut lora detractasque scutis pelles, ubi fervida mollissent aqua, mandere conarentur, nec muribus aliove animali abstinerent, et omne herbarum radicumque genus aggeribus infimis muri eruerent. Et 9 quum hostes obarâssent quidquid herbidi terreni extra murum erat, raporum semen injecerunt, ut Hannibal “Eone usque, dum ea nascantur, ad Casilinum sessurus sum?” exclamaret: et qui nullam antea pactionem auribus admiserat, tum demum agi secum est passus de redemptione liberorum capitum. Septunces auri in 10 singulos pretium convenit: fide accepta tradiderunt sese: donec omne aurum persolutum est, in vinculis habiti, tum remissi Cumas cum fide. Id verius est 11 quam ab equite in abeuntes immisso interfectos. Prænestini maxima pars fuere: ex quingentis septuaginta, qui in præsidio fuerunt, minus dimidium ferrum famesque absumpsit, cæteri incolumes Præneste cum prætore suo M. Anicio—scriba is antea fuerat—redierunt. Sta- 12 tua ejus indicio fuit Præneste in foro statuta, loricata amicta toga velato capite, et tria signa cum titulo lamnæ senæ inscripto, M. Anicium pro militibus, qui Casilini in præsidio fuerint, votum vovisse: idem titulus tribus signis in æde Fortunæ positus fuit subjectus. Casilinum (20) oppidum redditum Campanis est firmatum septingentorum militum de exercitu Hannibalis præsidio, ne ubi Pœnus inde abscessisset Romani oppugnarent. Prænestinis militibus senatus Romanus duplex stipendium

- et quinquennii militiæ vacationem decrevit: civitate  
 3 quum donarentur ob virtutem, non mutaverunt. Per-  
 usinorum casus obscurior fama est, quia nec ipsorum  
 monumento ullo est illustratus nec decreto Romanorum.
- 4 Eodem tempore Petelinos, qui uni ex Brutiis man-  
 serant in amicitia Romana, non Carthaginienses modo,  
 qui regionem obtinebant, sed Bruttii quoque cæteri ob  
 5 separata ab se consilia oppugnabant. Quibus quum  
 obsistere malis nequirent Petelini, legatos Romam ad  
 6 præsidium petendum miserunt. Quorum preces lacri-  
 mæque—in questus enim flebiles, quum sibimet ipsi  
 consulere jussi sunt, sese in vestibulo curiæ profude-  
 runt—ingentem misericordiam patribus ac populo mo-  
 verunt: consultique iterum a M'. Pomponio prætore  
 patres circumspectis omnibus imperii viribus fateri  
 coacti, nihil jam longinquis sociis in se præsidii esse,  
 redire domum fideque ad ultimum expleta consulere  
 sibimet ipsos in reliquum præsentī fortuna jusserunt.
- 7 Hæc postquam renuntiata legatio Petelinis est, tantus  
 repente mæror pavorque senatum eorum cepit, ut pars  
 profugiendi qua quisque posset ac deserendæ urbis  
 auctores essent, pars, quando deserti a veteribus sociis  
 essent, adjungendi se cæteris Brutiis ac per eos de-  
 8 dendi Hannibali. Vicit tamen ea pars quæ nihil raptim  
 nec temere agendum consulendumque de integro cen-  
 suit: re laxata postero die per minorem trepidationem  
 tenuerunt optimates, ut convectis omnibus ex agris  
 urbem ac muros firmarent.
- (21) Per idem fere tempus litteræ ex Sicilia Sardiniaque  
 Romam adlatæ. Priores ex Sicilia T. Otacilii propræ-  
 toris in senatu recitatæ sunt: P. Furium prætorem  
 cum classe ex Africa Lilybæum venisse: ipsum gravi-  
 ter saucium in discrimine ultimo vitæ esse: militi ac

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navalibus sociis neque stipendium neque frumentum ad diem dari, neque unde detur esse : magnopere suadere ut quam primum ea mittantur, sibiue, si ita videatur, ex novis prætoribus successorem mittant. Eademque 2 ferme de stipendio frumentoque ab A. Cornelio Mammula proprætore ex Sardinia scripta. Responsum utri- 3 que, non esse unde mitteretur, jussique ipsi classibus atque exercitibus suis consulere. T. Otacilius ad uni- 4 cum subsidium populi Romani Hieronem legatos quum misisset, in stipendium quanti argenti opus fuit et sex mensum frumentum accepit : Cornelio in Sardinia civitates sociæ benigne contulerunt. Et Romæ quoque 5 propter penuriam argenti triumviri mensarii rogatione M. Minucii tribuni plebis facti L. Æmilius Papus, qui consul censorque fuerat, et M. Atilius Regulus, qui bis consul fuerat, et L. Scribonius Libo, qui tum tribunus plebis erat. Et duumviri creati M. et C. Atilii ædem 6 Concordiæ, quam L. Manlius prætor voverat, dedicaverunt. Et tres pontifices creati, Q. Cæcilius Metellus 7 et Q. Fabius Maximus et Q. Fulvius Flaccus, in locum P. Scantini demortui et L. Æmilii Pauli consulis et Q. Ælii Pæti, qui ceciderant pugna Cannensi.

Quum cætera, quæ continuis cladibus fortuna minu- (22) crat, quantum consiliis humanis adsequi poterant, patres explèssent, tandem se quoque et solitudinem curiæ paucitatemque convenientium ad publicum consilium respexerunt. Neque enim post L. Æmilium et C. 2 Flaminium censores senatus lectus fuerat, quum tantum senatorum adversæ pugnæ, ad hoc sui quemque casus per quinquennium absumpsissent. Quum de ea 3 re M'. Pomponius prætor, dictatore post Casilinum amissum profecto jam ad exercitum, exposcentibus cunctis rettulisset, tum Sp. Carvilius, quum longa ora-

tione non solum inopiam sed paucitatem etiam civium, ex quibus in patres legerentur, conquestus esset, explendi senatus causa et jungendi artius Latini nominis cum populo Romano magnopere se suadere dixit ut ex singulis populis Latinorum binis senatoribus, si patres Romani censuissent, civitas daretur atque in demortuorum locum in senatum legerentur. Eam sententiam haud æquioribus animis quam ipsorum quondam postulatam Latinorum patres audierunt, et quum fremitus indignantium tota curia esset et præcipue T. Manlius esse etiam nunc ejus stirpis virum diceret, ex qua quondam in Capitolio consul minatus esset, Latinum, quem in curia vidisset, eum sua manu se interfecturum, Q. Fabius Maximus numquam rei ullius alieniore tempore mentionem factam in senatu dicit, quam inter tam suspensos sociorum animos incertamque fidem id actum quod insuper sollicitaret eos : eam unius hominis temerariam vocem silentio omnium exstinguendam esse, et, si quid umquam arcani sanctive ad silendum in curia fuerit, id omnium maxime tegendum occulendum obliviscendum pro indicto habendum esse. Ita ejus rei oppressa mentio est : dictatorem, qui censor ante fuisset vetustissimusque ex his qui viverent censoriis esset, creari placuit qui senatum legeret, accirique C. Terentium consulem ad dictatorem dicendum jusserunt. Qui ex Apulia relicto ibi præsidio cum magnis itineribus Romam redisset, nocte proxima, ut mos erat, M. Fabium Buteonem ex senatus consulto sine magistro (23) equitum dictatorem in sex menses dixit. Is ubi cum lictoribus in Rostra escendit, neque duos dictatores tempore uno, quod numquam antea factum esset, probare se dixit neque dictatorem se sine magistro equitum nec censoriam vim uni permissam et eidem iterum, nec

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dictatori nisi rei gerendæ causa creato in sex menses datum imperium. Quæ immoderata fors tempus ac <sup>2</sup> necessitas fecerit, his se modum impositurum: nam neque senatu quemquam moturum ex iis, quos C. Flaminus L. Æmilius censores in senatum legissent, transcribi tantum recitarique eos jussurum, ne penes unum hominem iudicium arbitriumque de fama ac moribus senatoris fuerit, et ita in demortuorum locum sublecturum, ut ordo ordini non homo homini prælatus videretur. Recitato vetere senatu inde primos in demortuorum <sup>3</sup> locum legit, qui post L. Æmilium C. Flaminium censores curulem magistratum cepissent nec dum in senatum lecti essent. Ut quisque eorum senatus pri- <sup>4</sup> mus creatus erat, tum legit qui ædiles tribuni plebis quæstoresvæ fuerant: tum ex his qui magistratum non cepissent, qui spolia ex hoste fixa domi haberent aut civicam coronam accepissent. Ita centum septuaginta <sup>5</sup> septem cum ingenti adprobatione hominum in senatum lectis extemplo se magistratu abdicavit, privatusque de Rostris descendit lictoribus abire jussis: turbæque se immiscuit privatas agentium res, tempus hoc sedulo terens, ne deducendi sui causa populum de foro abduceret: neque tamen elanguit cura hominum ea mora frequentesque eum domum deduxerunt. Consul nocte <sup>6</sup> insequenti ad exercitum redit non facto certiore senatu, ne comitiorum causa in urbe retineretur.

Postero die consultus a M'. Pomponio prætore sena- (24) tus decrevit dictatori scribendum uti, si e re publica censeret esse, ad consules subrogandos veniret cum magistro equitum et prætore M. Marcello, ut ex his præsentibus noscere patres possent, quo statu res publica esset, consiliaque ex rebus caperent. Qui acciti <sup>2</sup> erant omnes venerunt relictis legatis qui legionibus

- 3 præessent. Dictator de se pauca ac modice loquutus in magistrum equitum Tib. Sempronium Gracchum magnam partem gloriæ vertit, comitiaque edixit, quibus L. Postumius tertium absens, qui tum Galliam provinciam obtinebat, et Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, qui tum magister equitum et ædilis curulis erat, consules crearentur: prætores inde creati M. Valerius Lævinus App. Claudius Pulcher Q. Fulvius Flaccus Q. Mucius
- 4 Scævola. Dictator creatis magistratibus Teanum in hiberna ad exercitum redit relicto magistro equitum Romæ, qui, quum post paucos dies magistratum initurus esset, de exercitibus scribendis comparandisque in annum patres consuleret.
- 5 Quum eæ res maxime agerentur, nova clades nuntiata—aliam super aliam cumulante in eum annum fortuna—L. Postumium consulem designatum in Gallia
- 6 ipsum atque exercitum deletos. Silva erat vasta—Litanam Galli vocabant—qua exercitum traducturus
- 7 erat. Ejus silvæ dextra lævaque circa viam Galli arbores ita inciderunt ut inmotæ starent, momento levi
- 8 impulsæ occiderent. Legiones duas Romanas habebat Postumius sociûmque ab supero mari tantum conscripserat, ut viginti quinque millia armatorum in agros
- 9 hostium induxerit. Galli oram extremæ silvæ quum circumsedissent, ubi intravit agmen saltum, tum extremas arborum succisarum impellunt: quæ alia in aliam instabilem per se ac male hærentem incidentes ancipiti strage arma viros equos obruerunt, ut vix
- 10 decem homines effugerent. Nam quum exanimati plerique essent arborum truncis fragmentisque ramorum, cæteram multitudinem inopinato malo trepidam Galli saltum omnem armati circumsedentes interfecerunt, paucis e tanto numero captis qui pontem fluminis pe-

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tentes—obsesso ante ab hostibus ponte—interclusi sunt. Ibi Postumius omni vi, ne caperetur, dimicans occu- 11  
buit: spolia corporis caputque præcisum ducis Boii  
ovantes templo, quod sanctissimum est apud eos, intu-  
lere: purgato inde capite, ut mos iis est, calvam auro  
coalavere, idque sacrum vas iis erat, quo sollemnibus  
libarent poculumque idem sacerdoti esset ac templi  
antistitibus. Præda quoque haud minor Gallis quam 12  
victoria fuit: nam etsi magna pars animalium strage  
silvæ oppressa erat, tamen cæteræ res, quia nihil dis-  
sipatum fuga est, stratæ per omnem jacentis agminis  
ordinem inventæ sunt.

Hac nuntiata clade quum per dies multos in tanto (25)  
pavore fuisset civitas, ut tabernis clausis velut nocturna  
solitudine per urbem acta senatus ædilibus negotium  
daret, ut urbem circumirent aperirique tabernas et  
mæstitiæ publicæ speciem urbi demi juberent, tum Tib.  
Sempronius senatum habuit, consolatusque patres est  
et adhortatus, ne, qui Cannensi ruinæ non suocubuis-  
sent, ad minores calamitates animos submitterent:  
quod ad Carthaginienses hostes Hannibalemque adti-  
neret, prospera modo essent, sicut speraret, futura,  
Gallicum bellum et omitti tuto et differri posse ultio-  
nemque eam fraudis in deorum ac populi Romani po-  
testate fore: de hoste Pœno exercitibusque, per quos  
id bellum gereretur, consultandum atque agitandum.  
Ipse primum, quid peditum equitumque quid civium 2  
quid sociorum in exercitu esset dictatoris, disseruit:  
tum Marcellus suarum copiarum summam exposuit:  
quid in Apulia cum C. Terentio consule esset, a peritis  
quæsitum est. Nec, unde consulares exercitus satis 3  
firmi ad tantum bellum efficerentur, inibatur ratio:  
itaque Galliam, quamquam stimulabat justa ira, omitti



4 eo anno placuit. Exercitus dictatoris consuli decretus est: de exercitu M. Marcelli, qui eorum ex fuga Can- nensi essent, in Siciliam eos traduci atque ibi militare donec in Italia bellum esset placuit: eodem ex M. Junii dictatoris legionibus rejici militem minimi quem- que roboris, nullo præstituto militiæ tempore nisi qui stipendiorum legitimorum esset: duæ legiones urbanæ alteri consuli, qui in locum L. Postumii suffectus esset, decretæ sunt, eumque quum primum salvis auspiciis posset creari placuit: legiones præter ea duas primo quoque tempore ex Sicilia acciri atque inde consulem, cui legiones urbanæ evenissent, militum sumere quan- tum opus esset: C. Terentio consuli propagari in an- num imperium neque de eo exercitu, quem ad præsi- dium Apuliæ haberet, quicquam minui.

- (26) Dum hæc in Italia geruntur apparanturque, nihilo segnius in Hispania bellum erat, sed ad eam diem  
 2 magis prosperum Romanis. P. et Cn. Scipionibus inter se partitis copias, ut Cnæus terra Publius navibus rem gereret, Hasdrubal Pœnorum imperator, neutri parti virium satis fidens, procul ab hoste intervallo ac locis tutus tenebat se, quoad multum ac diu obtestanti quat- tuor millia peditum et mille equites in supplementum  
 3 missi ex Africa sunt. Tum refecta tandem spe castra propius hostem movit, classemque et ipse instrui para- rique jubet ad insulas maritimamque oram tutandam.  
 4 In ipso impetu movendarum de integro rerum perculit eum præfectorum navium transitio, qui post classem ad Hiberum per pavorem desertam graviter increpiti numquam deinde satis fidi aut duci aut Carthaginien- sium rebus fuerant. Fecerant hi transfugæ motum in Tartesiorum gente desciverantque iis auctoribus urbes  
 4 aliquot, una etiam ab ipsis vi capta fuerat. In eam

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gentem versum ab Romanis bellum est, infestoque exercitu Hasdrubal ingressus agrum hostium pro captæ ante dies paucos urbis mœnibus Chalbū, nobilem Tartesiorum ducem, cum valido exercitu castris se tenentem adgredi statuit. Præmissa igitur levi armatura, quæ 7 eliceret hostes ad certamen, peditum partem ad depopulandum per agros passim dimisit ut palantes exciperent. Simul et ad castra tumultus erat et per agros 8 fugaque et cædes: deinde undique diversis itineribus quum in castra se recepissent, adeo repente decessit animis pavor, ut non ad munimenta modo defendenda satis animorum esset sed etiam ad lacessendum proelio hostem. Erumpunt igitur agmine e castris tripudiantes more suo, repentinaque eorum audacia terrorem hosti paulo ante ultro lacessenti incussit. Itaque et 10 ipse Hasdrubal in collem satis arduum, tutum flumine etiam objecto, tum copias subducit et præmissam levem armaturam equitesque palatos eodem recepit, nec aut colli aut flumini satis fidens castra vallo permunit. In 11 hoc alterno pavore certamina aliquot sunt contracta: nec Numida Hispano eques par fuit, nec jaculator Maurus cætrato, velocitate pari, robore animi viriumque aliquantum præstanti. Postquam neque elicere (27) Pœnum ad certamen obversati castris poterant neque castrorum oppugnatio facilis erat, urbem Ascuam, quo fines hostium ingrediens Hasdrubal frumentum com meatusque alios convexerat, vi capiunt omnique circa agro potiuntur, nec jam aut in agmine aut in castris ullo imperio contineri. Quam ubi negligentiam ex re, 2 ut fit, bene gesta oriri senserat Hasdrubal, cohortatus milites ut palatos sine signis hostes adgrederentur, degressus colle pergit ire acie instructa ad castra. Quem ut adesse tumultuose nuntii refugientes ex spe- 3

culis stationibusque adtulere, ad arma conclamatum est: ut quisque arma ceperat, sine imperio sine signo  
4 incompositi inordinati in praelium ruunt. Jam primi conseruerant manus, quum alii catervatim current, alii non dum e castris exissent: tamen primo ipsa audacia terruere hostem: deinde rari in confertos illati, quum paucitas parum tuta esset, respicere alii alios et undique pulsus coire in orbem, et dum corpora corporibus adplicant armaque armis jungunt, in artum compulsi, quum vix movendis armis satis spatii esset, corona hostium cincti ad multum diei cæduntur: exigua pars eruptione facta silvas ac montes petit: parique terrore et castra sunt deserta et universa gens postero die in deditionem venit.

5 Nec diu in pacato mansit: nam subinde ab Carthagine adlatum est ut Hasdrubal primo quoque tempore in Italiam exercitum duceret: quæ vulgata res per Hispaniam omnium ferme animos ad Romanos avertit.

6 Itaque Hasdrubal extemplo litteras Carthaginem mittit indicans, quanto fama profectionis suæ damno fuisset: si vero inde pergeret, priusquam Hiberum transiret, Romanorum Hispaniam fore: nam præterquam quod nec præsidium nec ducem haberet quem relinqueret pro se, eos imperatores esse Romanos quibus vix æquis viribus resisti possit: itaque, si ulla Hispaniæ cura esset, successorem sibi cum valido exercitu mitterent, cui ut omnia prospere evenirent, non tamen otiosam

(28) provinciam fore. Eæ litteræ quamquam primo admodum moverunt senatum, tamen, quia Italiæ cura prior potiorque erat, nihil de Hasdrubale neque de copiis ejus mutatum est: Himilco cum exercitu justo et aucta classe ad retinendam terra marique ac tuendam Hispaniam est missus: qui, ut pedestres navalesque copias

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trajecit, castris communis navibusque subductis et vallo circumdatis, cum equitibus delectis ipse, quantum maxime adcelerare poterat, per dubios infestosque populos juxta intentus ad Hasdrubalem pervenit. Quum 2 decreta senatus mandataque exposuisset, atque edoc-tus esset ipse in vicem, quem ad modum tractandum bellum in Hispania foret, retro in sua castra redit nulla re quam celeritate tutior, quod undique abierat ante quam consentirent. Hasdrubal priusquam moveret cas- 3 tra, pecunias imperat populis omnibus suæ ditionis, satis gnarus Hannibalem transitus quosdam pretio mercatum nec auxilia Gallica aliter quam conducta habuisse, inopem tantum iter ingressum vix penetraturum ad Alpes fuisse: pecuniis igitur raptim exactis ad Hiberum descendit.

Decreta Carthaginiensium et Hasdrubalis iter ubi ad 4 Romanos sunt perlata, omnibus omissis rebus ambo duces junctis copiis ire obviam cœptis atque obsistere parant, rati, si Hannibali, vix per se ipsi tolerando Italise hosti, Hasdrubal dux atque Hispaniensis exercitus esset junctus, illum finem Romani imperii fore. His anxii curis ad Hiberum contrahunt copias, et trans- 5 ito amne quum diu consultassent, utrum castra castris conferrent an satis haberent sociis Carthaginiensium oppugnandis morari ab itinere proposito hostem, urbem a propinquo flumine Hiberam appellatam, opulentissimam ea tempestate regionis ejus, oppugnare parant. Quod 6 ubi sensit Hasdrubal, pro ope ferenda sociis pergit ire ipse ad urbem deditam nuper in fidem Romanorum oppugnandam: ita jam cœpta obsidio omissa ab Romanis est et in ipsum Hasdrubalem versum bellum. Quinque (29) millium intervallo castra distantia habuere paucos dies nec sine levibus proeliis nec ut in aciem exirent. Tan-

dem uno eodemque die velut ex composito utrimque  
signum pugnae propositum est, atque omnibus copiis in  
2 campum descensum est. Triplex stetit Romana acies :  
velitum pars inter antesignanos locata, pars post signa  
3 accepta, equites cornua cinxere. Hasdrubal mediam  
aciem Hispanis firmat: in cornibus, dextro Pœnos  
locat, lævo Afros mercenariorumque auxilia: equitum  
Numidas Pœnorum peditibus, cæteros Afris pro corni-  
4 bus apponit. Nec omnes Numidæ in dextro locati  
cornu, sed quibus desultorum in modum binos trahen-  
tibus equos inter acerrimam sæpe pugnam in recentem  
equum ex fesso armatis transultare mos erat: tanta  
5 velocitas ipsis tamque docile equorum genus est. Quum  
hoc modo instructi starent, imperatorum utriusque  
partis haud ferme dispares spes erant, nam ne multum  
quidem aut numero aut genere militum hi aut illi præ-  
6 stabant. Militibus longe dispar animus erat: Romanis  
enim, quamquam procul a patria pugnarent, facile per-  
suaserant duces pro Italia atque urbe Romana eos  
pugnare: itaque, velut quibus reditus in patriam eo  
discrimine pugnae verteretur, obstinaverant animis vin-  
7 cere aut mori. Minus pertinaces viros habebat altera  
acies: nam maxima pars Hispani erant, qui vinci in  
Hispania quam victores in Italiam trahi malebant.  
8 Primo igitur concursu, quum vix pila coniecta essent,  
rettulit pedem media acies inferentibusque se magno  
9 impetu Romanis vertit terga. Nihilo segnius cornibus  
prælium fuit: hinc Pœnus hinc Afer urget, et velut in  
circumventos prælio ancipiti pugnant: sed quum in  
medium tota jam coisset Romana acies, satis virium ad  
10 dimovenda hostium cornua habuit. Ita duo diversa  
prælia erant: utroque Romani, ut qui pulsus jam ante  
mediis et numero et robore virorum præstarent, haud

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dubie superant : magna vis hominum ibi occisa, et nisi Hispani vixdum conserto prælio tam effuse fugissent, perpauci ex tota superfuissent acie. Equestris pugna 11 nulla admodum fuit, quia, simul inclinatham mediam aciem Mauri Numidæque viderunt, extemplo fuga effusa nuda cornua elephantis quoque præ se actis deseruere. Et Hasdrubal usque ad ultimum eventum pugnae mora- 12 tus e media cæde cum paucis effugit : castra Romani cepere atque diripuerunt. Ea pugna, si qua dubia in 13 Hispania erant, Romanis adjunxit, Hasdrubalique non modo in Italiam traducendi exercitus sed ne manendi quidem satis tuto in Hispania spem reliquerat. Quæ 14 posteaquam litteris Scipionum Romæ vulgata sunt, non tam victoria quam prohibito Hasdrubalis in Italiam transitu lætabantur.

Dum hæc in Hispania geruntur, Petelia in Bruttiiis (30) aliquot post mensibus quam cepta oppugnari erat ab Himilcone præfecto Hannibalis expugnata est. Multo 2 sanguine ac vulneribus ea Pœnis victoria stetit, nec ulla magis vis obsessos quam fames expugnavit. Ab- 3 sumptis enim frugum alimentis carnisque omnis generis quadrupedum suetæ insuetæque postremo coriis herbisque et radicibus et corticibus teneris strictisque rubis vixere, nec ante, quam vires ad standum in muris ferendaque arma deerant, expugnati sunt. Recepta Pe- 4 telia Pœnus ad Consentiam copias traducit, quam minus pertinaciter defensam intra paucos dies in deditionem accepit. Isdem ferme diebus et Bruttiorum exercitus 5 Crotonem Græcam urbem circumscedit, opulentam quondam armis virisque, tum jam adeo multis magnisque cladibus afflictam, ut omnis ætatis minus viginti millia civium superessent. Itaque urbe a defensoribus vasta 6 facile potiti hostes sunt : arx tantum retenta, in quam

- inter tumultum captæ urbis e media cæde quidam ef-  
7 fugere. Et Locrenses descivere ad Bruttios Pœnosque  
prodita multitudine a principibus : Regini tantum modo  
regionis ejus et in fide erga Romanos et potestatis suæ  
8 ad ultimum manserunt. In Siciliam quoque eadem in-  
clinatio animorum pervenit, et ne domus quidem Hie-  
ronis tota ab defectione abstinuit : namque Gelo,  
maximus stirpis, contempta simul senectute patris simul  
post Cannensem cladem Romana societate ad Pœnos  
defecit, movissetque in Sicilia res nisi mors adeo oppor-  
tuna, ut patrem quoque suspicione aspergeret, armantem  
eum multitudinem sollicitantemque socios absumpsisset.  
9 Hæc eo anno in Italia in Africa in Sicilia in Hispania  
vario eventu acta.
- 10 Exitu anni Q. Fabius Maximus a senatu postulavit  
ut ædem Veneris Erycinæ, quam dictator vovisset, de-  
11 dicare liceret. Senatus decrevit ut Tib. Sempronius  
consul designatus, quum primo honorem inisset, ad po-  
pulum ferret ut Q. Fabium duumvirum esse juberent  
12 ædis dedicandæ causa. Et M. Æmilio Lepido, qui bis  
consul augurque fuerat, filii tres, Lucius Marcus Quint-  
tus, ludos funebres per triduum et gladiatorum paria  
13 duo et viginti per triduum in foro dederunt. Ædiles  
curules C. Lætorius et Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, con-  
sul designatus, qui in ædilitate magister equitum fuerat,  
ludos Romanos fecerunt, qui per triduum instaurati  
sunt : plebei ludii ædilium M. Aurelii Cottæ et M.  
Claudii Marcelli ter instaurati.
- 14 Circumacto tertio anno Punici belli Tib. Sempronius  
15 consul idibus Martiis magistratum init. Prætores Q.  
Fulvius Flaccus, qui antea bis consul censorque fuerat,  
urbanam, M. Valerius Lævinus peregrinam sortem in  
juris dictione habuit : App. Claudius Pulcher Siciliam,

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Q. Mucius Scævola Sardiniam sortiti sunt. M. Mar-16  
cello pro consule imperium esse populus jussit, quod  
post Cannensem cladem unus Romanorum imperatorum  
in Italia prospere rem gessisset. Senatus, quo die (31)  
primum est in Capitolio consultus, decrevit ut, quo eo  
anno duplex tributum imperaretur, simplex confestim  
exigeretur, ex quo stipendium præsens omnibus militi-  
bus daretur præterquam qui milites ad Cannas fuissent.  
De exercitibus ita decreverunt, ut duabus legionibus 2  
urbanis Tib. Sempronius consul Cales ad convenien-  
dum diem ediceret, inde eæ legiones in castra Claudiana  
supra Suessulam deducerentur. Quæ ibi legiones es- 3  
sent—erant autem Cannensis maxime exercitus—eas  
Ap. Claudius Pulcher prætor in Siciliam trajiceret, quæ-  
que in Sicilia essent, Romam deportarentur. Ad ex- 4  
ercitum, cui ad conveniendum Cales edicta dies erat,  
M. Claudius Marcellus missus, isque jussus in castra  
Claudiana deducere urbanas legiones. Ad veterem 5  
exercitum accipiendum deducendumque inde in Siciliam  
Tib. Mæcilius Croto legatus ab Ap. Claudio est missus.  
Taciti primo exspectaverant homines, uti consul comitia 6  
collegæ creando haberet: deinde, ubi ablegatum velut  
de industria M. Marcellum viderunt, quem maxime  
consulem in eum annum ob egregie in prætura res  
gestas creari volebant, fremitus in curia ortus. Quod 7  
ubi sensit consul, "Utrumque" inquit "e re publica  
fuit, patres conscripti, et M. Claudium ad permutandos  
exercitus in Campaniam proficisci, et comitia non prius  
edici quam is inde confecto quod mandatum est ne-  
gotio revertisset, ut vos consulem, quem tempus rei  
publicæ postularet, quem maxime vultis, haberetis."  
Ita de comitiis, donec rediit Marcellus, silentium fuit. 8  
Inter ea duumviri creati sunt Q. Fabius Maximus et T. 9



- Otacilius Crassus ædibus dedicandis, Menti Otacilius,
- 10 Fabius Veneri Erycinæ. Utraque in Capitolio est, canali uno discretæ. Et de trecentis equitibus Campanis, qui in Sicilia cum fide stipendiis emeritis Romam venerant, latum ad populum ut cives Romani essent, item uti municipes Cumani essent, pridie quam populus
- 11 Campanus a populo Romano defecisset. Maxime ut hoc ferretur moverat, quod, quorum hominum essent, scire se ipsi negabant vetere patria relicta, in eam, in quam
- 12 redierant, nondum adsciti. Postquam Marcellus ab exercitu redit, comitia consuli uni rogando in locum L.
- 13 Postumii edicuntur. Creatur ingenti consensu Mar-
- 14 cellus qui extemplo magistratum occiperet. Cui ineunti consulatum quum tenuisset, vocati augures vitio creatum videri pronuntiaverunt, vulgoque patres ita fama ferebant, quod tum primum duo plebeii consules
- 15 facti essent, id deis cordi non esse. In locum Marcelli, ubi is se magistratu abdicavit, suffectus Q. Fabius
- 16 Maximus tertium. Mare arsit eo anno, ad Sinuessam bos eculum peperit, signa Lanuvii ad Junonis Sospitis cruore manavere lapidibusque circa id tempus pluit: ob quem imbrem novemdiale, ut adsolet, sacrum fuit, cæteraque prodigia cum cura expiata.
- (32) Consules exercitus inter sese diviserunt: Fabio exercitus Teani, cui M. Junius dictator præfuerat, evenit, ita ut Sempronio tirones volonesque fierent et sociorum
- 2 viginti quinque millia. M. Valerio prætori legiones quæ ex Sicilia redissent decretæ: M. Claudius pro consule ad eum exercitum, qui supra Suessulam Nolæ
- 3 præsideret, missus. Prætores in Siciliam ac Sardiniam
- 4 profecti. Consules edixerunt, quotiens in senatum vocassent, uti senatores quibusque in senatu dicere sententiam liceret ad portam Capenam convenirent:

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prætores, quorum jurisdictio erat, tribunalia ad Piscinam publicam posuerunt: eo vadimonia fieri jusserunt ibique eo anno jus dictum est.

Interim Carthaginem, unde Mago frater Hannibalis 4 duodecim millia peditum et mille quingentos equites, viginti elephantos, mille argenti talenta in Italiam transmissurus erat cum præsidio sexaginta navium longarum, nuntius adfertur, in Hispania rem male gestam omnesque ferme ejus provinciæ populos ad Romanos defecisse. Erant qui Magonem cum classe ea copiisque 5 omissa Italia in Hispaniam averterent, quum Sardinia recipiendæ repentina spes adfulsit: parvum ibi exercitum Romanum esse: veterem prætorem inde A. Cornelium provinciæ peritum decedere, novum exspectari: ad hoc fessos jam animos Sardorum esse diuturnitate imperii, et proximo iis anno acerbæ atque aværæ imperatum, gravi tributo et collatione iniqua frumenti pressos: nihil deesse aliud quam auctorem, ad quem deficerent. Hæc clandestina legatio per principes missa 6 erat maxime eam rem moliente Hampsicora, qui tum auctoritate atque opibus longe primus erat. His nun- 7 tiis prope uno tempore turbati erectique Magonem cum classe sua copiisque in Hispaniam mittunt, in Sardiniam Hasdrubalem deligunt ducem, et tantum ferme copiarum quantum Magoni decernunt.

Et Romæ consules transactis rebus, quæ in urbe 8 agendæ erant, movebant jam sese ad bellum. Tib. 9 Sempronius militibus Sinuessam diem ad conveniendum edixit, et Q. Fabius consulto prius senatu, ut frumenta omnes ex agris ante kal. Junias primas in urbes munitas conveherent: qui non invexisset, ejus se agrum populaturum, servos sub hasta venditurum, villas incensurum. Ne prætoribus quidem, qui ad jus dicendum 10

creati erant, vacatio a belli administratione data est: Valerium prætorem in Apuliam ire placuit ad exercitum a Terentio accipiendum: quum ex Sicilia legiones venissent, iis potissimum uti ad regionis ejus præsidium: Terentianum Tarentum mitti cum aliquo legatorum: et viginti quinque naves datæ, quibus oram maritimam  
11 inter Brundisium ac Tarentum tutari posset. Par navium numerus Q. Fulvio prætori urbano decretus  
12 ad suburbana litora tutanda. C. Terentio proconsuli negotium datum ut in Piceno agro conquisitionem  
13 militum haberet locisque his præsidio esset. Et T. Otacilius Crassus, postquam ædem Mentis in Capitolio dedicavit, in Siciliam cum imperio qui classi præsesset missus.

- (33) In hanc dimicationem duorum opulentissimorum in terris populorum omnes reges gentesque animos intenderant, inter quos Philippus Macedonum rex eo magis, quod propior Italiæ ac mari tantum Ionio  
2 discretus erat. Is, ubi primum fama accepit Hannibalem Alpes transgressum, ut bello inter Romanum Poenumque orto lætatus erat, ita, utrius populi mallet victoriam esse, incertis adhuc viribus fluctuatus animo  
3 fuerat. Postquam tertia jam pugna tertia jam victoria cum Poenis erat, ad fortunam inclinavit legatosque ad Hannibalem misit, qui vitantes portus Brundisium Tarentinumque, quia custodiis navium Romanarum tenebantur, ad Lacinia Junonis templum in terram  
4 egressi sunt. Inde per Apuliam petentes Capuam media in præsidia Romana illati sunt deductique ad Valerium Lævinum prætorem circa Nuceriam castra  
5 habentem. Ibi intrepide Xenophanes legationis princeps a Philippo rege se missum ait ad amicitiam societatemque jungendam cum populo Romano, mandata

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habere ad consules ac senatum populumque Romanum. Prætor inter defectiones veterum sociorum nova socie- 6  
tate tam clari regis lætus admodum hostes pro hospiti-  
bus comiter accepit: dat qui prosequantur, itinera  
cum cura demonstrent, quæ loca quosque saltus aut  
Romanus aut hostes teneant. Xenophanes per præ- 7  
sidia Romana in Campaniam, inde qua proximum fuit  
in castra Hannibalis pervenit, foedusque cum eo atque  
amicitiam jungit legibus his, ut Philippus rex quam  
maxima classe—ducentas autem naves videbatur effec-  
turus—in Italiam trajiceret et vastaret maritimam oram,  
bellum pro parte sua terra marique gereret: ubi de-  
bellatum esset, Italia omnis cum ipsa urbe Roma Car-  
thaginensium atque Hannibalis esset prædaque omnis  
Hannibali cederet: perdomita Italia navigarent in  
Græciam bellumque cum quibus regi placeret gererent,  
quæ civitates continentis quæque insulæ ad Macedoniam  
vergant, eæ Philippi regnique ejus essent. In has (34)  
ferme leges inter Pœnum ducem legatosque Macedonum  
ictum foedus: missique cum iis ad regis ipsius firman-  
dam fidem legati, Gisgo et Bostar et Mago, eodem ad  
Junonis Laciniæ, ubi navis occulta in statione erat,  
perveniunt. Inde profecti quum altum tenerent, con- 2  
specti classe Romana sunt, quæ præsidio erat Calabriæ  
litoribus: Valerius Flaccus cercyros ad persequendam  
retrahendamque navem quum misisset, primo fugere  
regii conati, deinde, ubi celeritate vinci senserunt, tra-  
dunt se Romanis: et ad præfectum classis adducti,  
quum quæreret, qui et unde et quo tenderent cursum,  
Xenophanes primo satis jam semel felix mendacium  
struere, a Philippo se ad Romanos missum ad M. Va-  
lerium, ad quem unum iter tutum fuerit, pervenisse,  
Campaniam superare nequisse sæptam hostium præsi-

- 3 diis. Deinde ut Punicus cultus habitusque suspectos  
legatos fecit Hannibalis interrogatosque sermo prodidit,  
tum comitibus eorum seductis ac metu territis litteræ  
quoque ab Hannibale ad Philippum inventæ et pacta  
4 inter regem Macedonum Pœnumque ducem. Quibus  
satis cognitis, optimum visum est captivos comitesque  
eorum Romam ad senatum aut consules, ubicumque  
5 essent, quam primum deportare. Ad id celerrimæ  
quinque naves delectæ ac L. Valerius Antias qui præ-  
esset missus, eique mandatum ut in omnes naves legatos  
separatim custodiendos divideret, daretque operam ne  
quod iis colloquium inter se neve quæ communicatio  
consilii esset.
- 6 Per idem tempus Romæ quum A. Cornelius Mam-  
mula ex Sardinia provincia decedens rettulisset, qui  
status rerum in insula esset—bellum ac defectionem  
omnes spectare, Q. Mucium, qui successisset sibi, gra-  
vitate cœli aquarumque advenientem exceptum non tam  
in periculosum quam longum morbum implicitum, diu  
ad belli vim sustinendam inutilem fore, exercitumque  
ibi ut satis firmum pacatæ provinciæ præsidem esse, ita  
parum bello, quod motum iri videretur—, decreverunt  
patres ut Q. Fulvius Flaccus quinque millia peditum  
quadringentos equites scriberet, eamque legionem primo  
quoque tempore in Sardiniam trajiciendam curaret, mit-  
teretque cum imperio quem ipsi videretur, qui rem gere-  
7 ret quoad Mucius convalesceret. Ad eam rem missus  
est T. Manlius Torquatus, qui bis consul censorque  
8 fuerat subegeratque in consulatu Sardos. Sub idem  
fere tempus et a Carthagine in Sardiniam classis missa  
duce Hasdrubale, cui Calvo cognomen erat, fœda tem-  
pestate vexata ad Baleares insulas dejicitur, ibique—  
leo non armamenta modo sed etiam alvei navium

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quassati erant—subductæ naves dum reficiuntur, aliquantum temporis triverunt.

In Italia quum post Cannensem pugnam, fractis (35) partis alterius viribus, alterius mollitis animis, segnius bellum esset, Campani per se adorti sunt rem Cumanam suæ ditionis facere, primo sollicitantes ut ab Romanis deficerent, ubi id parum processit, dolum ad capiendos eos comparant. Campanis omnibus statum 2 sacrificium ad Hamas: eo senatum Campanum venturum certiores Cumanos fecerunt, petieruntque ut et Cumanus eo senatus veniret ad consultandum communiter, ut eosdem uterque populus socios hostesque haberet: præsidium ibi armatum se habituros ne quid ab Romano Pœnove periculi esset. Cumani, quam- 3 quam suspecta fraus erat, nihil abnuere, ita tegi fallax consilium posse rati. Interim Tib. Sempronius consul 4 Romanus Sinuessæ, quo ad conveniendum diem edixerat, exercitu lustrato transgressus Vulturnum flumen circa Liternum posuit castra. Ibi quia otiosa stativa 5 erant, crebro decurrere milites cogebat, ut tirones—ea maxima pars volonum erant—adsuescerent signa sequi et in acie agnoscere ordines suos. Inter quæ 6 maxima inerat cura duci itaque legatis tribunisque præceperat, ne qua exprobratio cuiquam veteris fortunæ discordiam inter ordines sereret, vetus miles tironi, liber voloni sese exæquari sineret, omnes satis honestos generososque ducerent quibus arma sua signaque populus Romanus commisisset: quæ fortuna coegisset ita fieri, eandem cogere tueri factum. Ea non majore 7 cura præcepta ab ducibus sunt quam militibus observata, brevique tanta concordia coaluerant omnium animi ut prope in oblivionem veniret, qua ex conditione quisque esset miles factus. Hæc agenti Graccho legati 8

- Cumani nuntiarunt, quæ a Campanis legatio paucos ante dies venisset et quid iis ipsi respondissent: triduum post eum diem festum esse, non senatum solum omnem ibi futurum sed castra etiam et exercitum Campanum. Gracchus jussis Cumanis omnia ex agris in urbem convehere et manere intra muros, ipse pridie quam statum sacrificium Campanis esset Cumas movet castra. Hamæ inde tria millia passuum absunt. Jam Campani eo frequentes ex composito convenerant, nec procul inde in occulto Marius Alfius medixtruticus— summus magistratus erat Campanis—cum quattuordecim millibus armatorum habebat castra, sacrificio apparando et inter id instruendæ fraudi aliquanto intentior quam muniendis castris aut ulli militari operi. Triduum sacrificatum ad Hamas: nocturnum erat sacrum ita ut ante mediam noctem compleretur. Huic Gracchus insidiandum tempori ratus, custodibus ad portas positis, ne quis enuntiare posset cœpta, et ad decimam diei horam coactis militibus corpora curare somnoque operam dare ut primis tenebris convenire ad signum possent, vigilia ferme prima tolli jussit signa, silentique profectus agmine quum ad Hamas media nocte pervenisset, castra Campana ut in pervigilio neglecta simul omnibus portis invadit, alios somno stratos, alios perpetrato sacro inermes redeuntes obtruncat. hominum eo tumultu nocturno cæsa plus duo millia cum ipso duce Mario Alfio, capta sunt signa militaria quattuor et triginta.
- (36) Gracchus minus centum militum jactura castris hostium potitus Cumas se propere recepit, ab Hannibale metuens, qui super Capuam in Tifatis habebat castra.
- 2 Nec eum provida futuri fefellit opinio: nam simul quum ea clades est nuntiata, ratus Hannibal ab re

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bene gesta insolenter lætum exercitum tironum magna ex parte et servorum spoliante victos prædasque agentem ad Hamas se inventurum, citatum agmen præter Capuam rapit, obviosque ex fuga Campanorum dato præsidio Capuam duci, saucios vehiculis portari jubet. Ipse Hamis vacua ab hostibus castra nec quicquam præter recentis vestigia cædis strataque passim corpora sociorum invenit. Auctores erant quidam ut 4 protinus inde Cumas duceret urbemque oppugnaret. Id quamquam haud modice Hannibal cupiebat, ut, 5 quia Neapolim non potuerat, Cumas saltem maritimam urbem haberet, tamen, quia præter arma nihil secum miles raptim acto agmine extulerat, retro in castra super Tifata se recepit. Inde fatigatus Campanorum 6 precibus sequenti die cum omni apparatu oppugnandæ urbis Cumas redit, perpopulatoque agro Cumano mille passus ab urbe castra locat, quum Gracchus magis verecundia in tali necessitate deserendi socios implorantes fidem suam populique Romani substitisset quam satis fidens exercitui. Nec alter consul Fabius, qui ad 7 Cales castra habebat, Vulturum flumen traducere audebat exercitum, occupatus primo auspiciis repetendis dein prodigiis, quæ alia super alia nuntiabantur, expiantique ea haud facile litari haruspices respondebant.

Eæ causæ quum Fabium tenerent, Sempronius in (37) obsidione erat, et jam operibus oppugnabatur. Ad-2 versus ligneam ingentem admotam urbi aliam turrem ex ipso muro excitavit consul Romanus, aliquanto altiore, quia muro satis per se alto subjectis validis sublicis pro solo usus erat. Inde primum saxis sudi-3 busque et cæteris missilibus propugnatores mœnia atque urbem tuebantur, postremo, ubi promovendo ad-4 junctam muro viderunt turrem, facibus ardentibus plu-



- 4rimum simul ignem conjecerunt. Quo incendio trepida  
armatorum multitudo quum de turre sese præcipitaret,  
eruptio ex oppido simul duabus portis stationes hos-  
tium fudit fugavitque in castra, ut eo die obsesso quam  
5obsidenti similior esset Pœnus. Ad mille trecenti Car-  
thaginiensium cæsi et undesexaginta vivi capti, qui  
circa muros et in stationibus solute ac negligenter  
agentes, quum nihil minus quam eruptionem timuis-  
6sent, ex improvise oppressi fuerant. Gracchus, prius-  
quam se hostes ab repentino pavore colligerent, receptui  
7signum dedit ac suos intra muros recepit. Postero  
die Hannibal, lætum secunda re consulem justo prælio  
ratus certaturum, aciem intra castra atque urbem in-  
struxit: cæterum, postquam neminem moveri ab solita  
custodia urbis vidit nec committi quicquam temerariæ  
8spei, ad Tifata redit infecta re. Quibus diebus Cumæ  
liberatæ sunt obsidione, iisdem diebus et in Lucanis ad  
Grumentum Tib. Sempronius, cui Longo cognomen erat,  
cum Hannone Pœno prospere pugnat: supra duo millia  
hominum occidit et ducentos octoginta milites amisit,  
9signa militaria ad quadraginta unum cepit. Pulsus  
finibus Lucanis Hanno retro in Bruttios sese recepit.  
10Et ex Hirpinis oppida tria, quæ a populo Romano  
defecerant, vi recepta per M. Valerium prætorem, Ver-  
cellium Vescellium Sicilinum, et auctores defectionis  
securi percussi: supra quinque millia captivorum sub  
hasta venierunt, præda alia militi concessa exercitusque  
Nuceriam reductus.
- (38) Dum hæc in Lucanis atque in Hirpinis geruntur,  
quinque naves, quæ Macedonum atque Pœnorum captos  
legatos Romam portabant, ab supero mari ad inferum  
circumvectæ prope omnem Italiæ oram, quum præter  
Cumæ velis ferrentur neque hostium an sociorum essent

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satis sciretur, Gracchus obviam ex classe sua naves misit. Quum percunctando in vicem cognitum esset 2 consulem Cumis esse, naves Cumas adpulsæ captivique ad consulem deducti et litteræ datæ. Consul litteris 3 Philippi atque Hannibalis perlectis consignata omnia ad senatum itinere terrestri misit, navibus devehi legatos jussit. Quum eodem fere die litteræ legatiquæ 4 Romam venissent et percunctatione facta dicta, cum scriptis congruerent, primo gravis cura patres incessit cernentes, quanta vix tolerantibus Punicum bellum Macedonici belli moles instaret: cui tamen adeo non succubuerunt ut extemplo agitaretur, quemadmodum ultro inferendo bello averterent ab Italia hostem. Cap- 5 tivis in vincula condi jussis comitibusque eorum sub hasta venditis ad naves viginti quinque, quibus P. Valerius Flaccus præfectus præerat, viginti quinque parari alias decernunt. His comparatis deductisque 6 et additis quinque navibus, quæ advexerant captivos legatos, triginta naves ab Ostia Tarentum profectæ, jussusque P. Valerius militibus Varronianis, quibus L. Apustius legatus Tarenti præerat, in naves impositis quinquaginta quinque navium classe non tueri modo Italiæ oram sed explorare de Macedonico bello: si congruentia litteris legatorumque indiciis Philippi consilia essent, ut M. Valerium prætorem litteris certiore faceret, isque L. Apustio legato exercitui præposito Tarentum ad classem profectus primo quoque tempore in Macedoniam transmitteret, daretque operam ut Philippum in regno contineret. Pecunia ad classem 7 tuendam bellumque Macedonicum ea decreta est, quæ Ap. Claudio in Siciliam missa erat ut redderetur Hieroni regi: ea per L. Antistium legatum Tarentum est devecta. Simul ab Hierone missa ducenta millia modiorum

- (39) tritici et hordei centum. Dum hæc Romani parant aguntque, ad Philippum captiva navis una ex his quæ Romam missæ erant ex cursu refugit, inde scitum legatos cum litteris captos: itaque ignarus rex, quæ cum Hannibale legatis suis convenissent quæque legati ejus ad se adlaturi fuissent, legationem aliam cum eisdem 2 mandatis mittit. Legati ad Hannibalem missi Heraclitus, cui Scotino cognomen erat, et Crito Bœotius et Sositheus Magnes: hi prospere tulerunt ac rettulerunt 3 mandata. Sed prius se æstas circumegit quam movere ac moliri quicquam rex posset: tantum navis una capta cum legatis momenti fecit ad dilationem imminentis Romanis belli.
- 4 Et circa Capuam, transgresso Vulturum Fabio post expiata tandem prodigia, ambo consules rem gerebant. 5 Compulteriam et Trebulam et Saticulam, urbes quæ ad Pœnum defecerant, Fabius vi cepit, præsidiaque in his 6 Hannibalis Campanique permulti capti. Et Nolæ sicut priore anno senatus Romanorum plebs Hannibalis erat, consiliaque occulta de cæde principum et proditione urbis inibantur: quibus ne incepta procederent, inter Capuam castraque Hannibalis, quæ in Tifatis erant, traducto exercitu Fabius super Suessulam in castris Claudianis consedit, inde M. Marcellum proprætorem cum his copiis quas habebat Nolam in præsidium misit.
- (40) Et in Sardinia res per T. Manlium prætorem administrari cœptæ, quæ omissæ erant postquam Q. Mucius 2 prætor gravi morbo est implicitus. Manlius navibus longis ad Carales subductis navalibusque sociis armatis, ut terra rem gereret, et a prætore exercitu accepto duo et viginti millia peditum mille ducentos equites confecit: cum his equitum peditumque copiis profectus in agrum hostium haud procul ab Hampsicoræ castris castra

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posuit. Hampsicora tum forte profectus erat in Pelli-  
tos Sardos ad juventutem armandam, qua copias augetet.  
Filius nomine Hostius castris præerat: is adolescentia 4  
ferox temere prælio inito fusus fugatusque: ad tria  
millia Sardorum eo prælio cæsa, octingenti ferme vivi  
capti: alius exercitus primo per agros silvasque fuga  
palatus, dein, quo ducem fugisse fama erat, ad urbem  
nomine Cornum caput ejus regionis confugit: debella-  
tumque eo prælio in Sardinia esset, ni classis Punica  
cum duce Hasdrubale, quæ tempestate dejecta ad Ba-  
leares erat, in tempore ad spem rebellandi advenisset.  
Manlius post famam adpulsæ Punicæ classis Carales se 5  
recepit: ea occasio Hampsicoræ data est Pæno se jun-  
gendi. Hasdrubal, copiis in terram expositis et classe 6  
remissa Carthaginem, duce Hampsicora ad sociorum  
populi Romani agrum populandum profectus Carales  
perventurus erat, ni Manlius obvio exercitu ab effusa  
eum populatione continuisset. Primo castra castris 7  
modico intervallo sunt objecta, dein deinceps procura-  
tiones levia certamina vario eventu inita, postremo de-  
scensum in aciem, signis collatis justo prælio per quat-  
tuor horas pugnatum. Diu pugnam ancipitem Pœni 8  
Sardis facile vinci adsuētis fecerunt, postremo et ipsi,  
quum omnia circa strage ac fuga Sardorum repleta essent,  
fusi. Cæterum terga dantes circumducto cornu, quo pe- 9  
pulerat Sardos, inclusit Romanus: cædes inde magis  
quam pugna fuit: duodecim millia hostium cæsa Sar-  
dorum simul Pœnorumque, ferme tria millia et septin-  
genti capti et signa militaria septem et viginti. Ante (41)  
omnia claram et memorabilem pugnam fecit Hasdrubal  
imperator captus et Hanno et Mago nobiles Carthagini-  
enses, Mago ex gente Barcina propinqua cognatione  
Hannibali junctus, Hanno auctor rebellionis Sardis belli.

- 2 que ejus haud dubie coneitor. Nec Sardorum duces minus nobilem eam pugnam cladibus suis fecerunt, nam et filius Hampsicoræ Hostius in acie cecidit, et Hampsicora cum paucis equitibus fugiens, ut super adflitas res necem quoque filii audit, nocte, ne cujus interven-
- 3 tus cœpta impediret, mortem sibi conscivit. Cæteris urbs Cornus eadem quæ ante fugæ receptaculum fuit, quam Manlius victore exercitu adgressus intra dies
- 4 paucos recepit. Deinde aliæ quoque civitates, quæ ad Hampsicoram Pœnosque defecerant, obsidibus datis dederunt sese, quibus stipendio frumentoque imperato pro cujusque aut viribus aut delicto Carales exercitum
- 5 reduxit. Ibi navibus longis deductis impositoque, quem secum advexerat, milite Romam navigat Sardiniamque perdomitam nuntiat patribus, et stipendium quæstoribus, frumentum ædilibus, captivos Q. Fulvio prætori tradit.
- 6 Per idem tempus T. Otacilius prætor ab Lilybæo classi in Africam transvectus depopulatusque agrum Carthaginiensem quum Sardiniam inde peteret, quo fama erat Hasdrubalem a Balearibus nuper trajecisse, classi Africam repetenti occurrit, levique certamine in alto commisso septem inde naves cum sociis navalibus cepit: cæteras metus haud secus quam tempestas pas-
- 7 sim disjecit. Per eosdem forte dies et Bomilcar cum militibus ad supplementum Carthagine missis elephantisque et commeatu Locros accessit: quem ut incantum opprimeret, App. Claudius per simulationem provinciæ circumeundæ Messanam raptim exercitu ducto æstuque
- 8 suo Locros trajecit. Jam inde Bomilcar ad Hannonem in Bruttios profectus erat et Locrenses portas Romanis clausurunt: Appius magno conatu nulla re gesta Messanam repetit.
- 9 Eadem æstate Marcellus ab Nola, quam præsidio

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*obtinebat*, crebras excursiones in agrum Hirpinum et Samnites Caudinos fecit, adeoque omnia ferro atque igni vastavit ut antiquarum cladum Samnio memoriam renovaret. Itaque extemplo legati ad Hannibalem missi simul ex utraque gente ita Pœnum adloquuti sunt: "Hostes populi Romani, Hannibal, fuimus primum per nos ipsi, quoad nostra arma nostræ vires nos tutari poterant. Postquam his parum fidebamus, Pyrrho regi nos adjunximus, a quo relictis pacem necessariam accepimus fuimusque in ea per annos prope quinquaginta ad id tempus quo tu in Italiam venisti. Tua nos non magis virtus fortunaque quam unica comitas ac benignitas erga cives nostros, quos captos nobis remisisti, ita conciliavit tibi, ut te salvo atque incolumi amico non modo populum Romanum sed ne deos quidem iratos, si fas est dici, timeremus. At hercule non solum incolumi et victore sed præsentē te—comploratum prope conjugum ac liberorum nostrorum exaudire et flagrantia tecta posses conspicere—ita sumus aliquotiens hac æstate devastati, ut M. Marcellus non Hannibal vicisse ad Cannas videatur, glorienturque Romani te ad unum modo ictum vigentem velut aculeo emisso torpere. Per annos centum cum populo Romano bellum gessimus nullo externo adjuti nec duce nec exercitu, nisi quod per biennium Pyrrhus nostro magis milite suas auxit vires quam suis viribus nos defendit. Non ego secundis rebus nostris gloriabor, duos consules ac duos consulares exercitus ab nobis sub jugum missos et si qua alia aut læta aut gloriosa nobis evenerunt. Quæ aspera adversaque tunc acciderunt, minore indignatione referre possumus quam quæ hodie eveniunt. Magni dictatores cum magistris equitum, bini consules cum binis consularibus exerci-

- tibus ingrediebantur fines nostros, ante explorato et subsidiis positis et sub signis ad populandum ducebant: nunc proprætoris unius et parvi ad tuendam Nolam præsidii præda sumus: jam ne manipulatim quidem sed latronum modo percursant totis finibus nostris negligentius quam si in Romano vagarentur
- 9 agro. Causa autem hæc est, quod neque tu defendis et nostra Juventus, quæ si domi esset tutaretur, omnis
- 10 sub signis militat tuis. Nec te nec exercitum tuum norim, nisi, a quo tot acies Romanas fusas stratasque esse sciam, et facile esse dicam opprimere populatores nostros vagos sine signis palatos, quo quemque trahit
- 11 quamvis vana prædæ spes. Numidarum paucorum illi quidem præda erunt, præsidiumque simul nobis et Nolæ ademeris, si modo, quos ut socios haberes dignos duxisti, haud indignos judicas quos in fidem receptos tue-
- (43) aris." Ad ea Hannibal respondit, omnia simul facere Hirpinos Samnitesque, et indicare clades suas et petere
- 2 præsidium et queri indefensos se neglectosque. Indicandum autem primum fuisse, dein petendum præsidium, postremo, ni impetraretur, tum denique querendum frustra opem imploratam. Exercitum sese non in
- 3 agrum Hirpinum Samnitumve, ne et ipse oneri esset, sed in proxima loca sociorum populi Romani adducturum: iis populandis et militem suum repleturum se
- 4 et metu procul ab his submoturum hostes. Quod ad bellum Romanum adtineret, si Trasumenni quam Trebiæ si Cannarum quam Trasumenni pugna nobilior esset, Cannarum se quoque memoriam obscuram majore et clariore victoria facturum.
- 5 Cum hoc responso muneribusque amplis legatos dimisit, ipse præsidio modico relicto in Tifatis profectus
- 6 cætero exercitu ire Nolam pergit. Eodem Hanno ex

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Bruttiis cum supplemento Carthagine advecto atque elephantis venit. Castris haud procul positis longe 7 alia omnia inquirenti comperta sunt quam quæ a legatis sociorum audierat. Nihil enim Marcellus ita agebat ut 8 aut fortunæ aut temere hosti commissum dici posset: explorato cum firmisque præsiidiis tuto receptu prædatum ierat, omniaque velut adversus præsentem Hannibalem cauta provisæque fuerunt: tum ubi sensit nostem adventare, copias intra mœnia tenuit, per muros inambulare senatores Nolanos iussit et omnia circa explorare quæ apud hostes fierent. Ex his Hanno quum ad murum successisset, Herennium Bassum et Herium Petium ad colloquium evocatos permissuque Marcelli egressos per interpretem adloquitur: Hannibalis virtutem fortunamque extollit, populi Romani obterit ut senescentem cum viribus majestatem. Quæ si paria 10 essent ut quondam fuissent, tamen expertis, quam grave Romanum imperium sociis, quanta indulgentia Hannibalis etiam in captivos omnis Italici nominis fuisset, Punicam Romanæ societatem atque amicitiam præoptandam esse. Si ambo consules cum suis exercitibus 11 ad Nola essent, tamen non magis pares Hannibali futuros quam ad Cannas fuissent: nedum prætor unus cum paucis et novis militibus Nola tutari possit. Ipsorum quam Hannibalis interesse, capta an tradita 12 Nola poteretur: potiturum enim, ut Capua Nuceriaque potitus esset: sed quid inter Capuæ ac Nuceriæ fortunam interesset, ipsos prope in medio sitos Nolanos scire. Nolle ominari quæ captæ urbi cessura forent, 13 et potius spondere, si Marcellum cum præsidio ac Nola tradidissent, neminem alium quam ipsos legem, quæ in societatem amicitiamque Hannibalis venirent, dicturum. Ad ea Herennius Bassus respondit, multos (44)



- annos jam inter Romanum Nolanumque populum amicitiam esse, cujus neutros ad eam diem pœnitere: et sibi, si cum fortuna mutanda fides fuerat, sero jam esse
- 2 mutare eam. Dedituris se Hannibali fuisse accersendum Romanorum præsidium? cum iis qui ad sese tuendos venissent, omnia sibi et esse consociata et ad ultimum fore.
- 3 Hoc colloquium abstulit spem Hannibali per prodicionem recipiendæ Nolæ: itaque corona oppidum circumdedit, ut simul ab omni parte mœnia adgrederetur.
- 4 Quem ut successisse muris Marcellus vidit, instructa
- 5 intra portam acie cum magno tumultu erupit. Aliquot primo impetu perculsi cæsique sunt, dein concursu ad pugnantes facto æquatisque viribus atrox esse cœpit pugna, memorabilisque inter paucas fuisset ni ingentibus procellis effusus imber diremisset pugnantes. Eo die commisso modico certamine atque irritatis animis in urbem Romani, Pœni in castra receperunt sese: tamen Pœnorum prima eruptione perculsi ceciderunt haud plus
- 7 quam triginta, Romani quinquaginta. Imber continens per noctem totam usque ad horam tertiam diei insequentis tenuit: itaque quamquam utraque pars avidi certaminis erant, eo die tenuerunt sese tamen muni-
- 8 mentis. Tertio die Hannibal partem copiarum præ-
- 9 datum in agrum Nolanum misit. Quod ubi animadvertit Marcellus, extemplo in aciem copias eduxit:
- 10 neque Hannibal detractavit. Mille fere passuum inter urbem erant castraque: eo spatio—et sunt omnia campi
- 11 circa Nola—concurrerunt. Clamor ex parte utraque sublatus proximos ex cohortibus iis, quæ in agros prædatum exierant, ad prælium jam commissum revocavit: et Nolani aciem Romanam auxerunt, quos colaudatos Marcellus in subsidiis stare et saucios ex

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acie efferre jussit, pugna abstinere, ni ab se signum acceperissent. Prælium erat anceps: summa vi et duces (45) hortabantur et milites pugnabant. Marcellus victis 2 ante diem tertium, fugatis ante paucos dies a Cumis, pulsus priore anno ab Nola ab eodem se duce milite alio, instare jubet. Non omnes esse in acie, prædantes 3 vagari in agro: sed qui pugnent, marcere Campana luxuria, vino et scortis omnibusque lustris per totam hiemem confectos. Abisse illam vim vigoremque, de- 4 lapsa esse robor corporum animorumque, quibus Pyrenæi Alpiumque superata sint juga: reliquias illorum virorum vix arma membraque sustinentes pugnare: Capuam Hannibali Cannas fuisse: ibi virtutem bellicam, ibi militarem disciplinam, ibi præteriti temporis famam, ibi spem futuri extinctam. Quum hæc ex- 5 probrando hosti Marcellus suorum militum animos erigeret, Hannibal multo gravioribus probris increpabat. Arma signaque eadem se noscere, quæ ad Trebiam 6 Trasumenumque, postremo ad Cannas viderit habueritque: militem alium profecto se in hiberna Capuam duxisse, alium inde eduxisse: "Legatumne Romanum et legionis unius atque alæ magno certamine vix toleratis pugnam, quos binæ acies consulares numquam sustinuerunt? Marcellus tirone milite ac Nolanis subsidiis inultus nos jam iterum lacessit? ubi ille miles meus est, qui erepto ex equo G. Flaminio consuli caput abstulit? ubi, qui L. Paulum ad Cannas occidit? ferrum nunc hebet an dextræ torpent? an quid prodigii est aliud? qui pauci plures vincere soliti estis, nunc paucis plures vix restatis? Romam vos expugnatos, si quis duceret, fortes lingua jactabatis: enim minor res est: hic experiri vim virtutemque volo: expugnate Nola campestris urbem, non flumine non

7 mari septam. Hinc vos ex tam opulenta urbe præda spoliisque onustos vel ducam quo voletis vel sequar."

(46) Nec bene nec male dicta profuerunt ad confirmandos 2 animos. Quum omni parte pellerentur, Romanisque crescerent animi non duce solum adhortante sed Nolanis etiam per clamorem favoris indicem accendentibus ardorem pugnae, terga Pœni dederunt atque in castra 3 compulsi sunt. Quæ oppugnare cupientes milites Romanos Marcellus Nola reduxit cum magno gaudio et gratulatione etiam plebis, quæ ante inclinatio ad 4 Pœnos fuerat. Hostium plus quinque millia cæsa eo die, vivi capti sexcenti et signa militaria undeviginti et duo elephantii, quattuor in acie occisi: Romanorum 5 minus mille interfecti. Posterum diem induciis tacitis 6 sepeliendo utrimque cæsos in acie consumpserunt. Spolia hostium Marcellus Vulcano votum cremavit. Tertio post die—ob iram credo aliquam aut spem liberalioris militiæ—ducenti septuaginta duo equites, mixti Numidæ Hispani, ad Marcellum transfugerunt: eorum forti fidelique opera in eo bello usi sunt sæpe Romani: ager Hispanis in Hispania et Numidis in Africa post bellum virtutis causa datus est.

7 Hannibal ab Nola remisso in Bruttios Hannone cum quibus venerat copiis, ipse Apuliæ hiberna petit circa 8 que Arpos consedit. Q. Fabius ut profectum in Apuliam Hannibalem audivit, frumento ab Nola Neapolique in ea castra convecto, quæ super Suessulam erant, munimentisque firmatis et præsidio, quod per hiberna ad tenendum locum satis esset, relicto, ipse Capuam propius movit castra agrumque Campanum ferro ignique est depopulatus, donec coacti sunt Campani, nihil admodum viribus suis fidentes, egredi portis et castra 9 ante urbem in aperto communire. Sex millia armatorum

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habebant, peditem imbellem: equitatu plus poterant, itaque equestribus præliis lacesiebant hostem. Inter 10 multos nobiles equites Campanos Cerrinus Vibellius erat, cognomine Taurea. Civis indidem erat, longe 11 omnium Campanorum fortissimus eques, adeo ut, quum apud Romanos militaret, unus eum Romanus Claudius Asellus gloria equestri æquaret. Hunc Taurea quum 12 diu perlustrans oculis obequitasset hostium turmis, tandem silentio facto ubi esset Claudius Asellus quæsivit, et, quoniam verbis secum de virtute ambigere solitus esset, cur non ferro decerneret dareque opima spolia victus aut victor caperet. Hæc ubi Asello sunt (47) nuntiata in castra, id modo moratus ut consulem percunctaretur, liceretne extra ordinem in provocantem hostem pugnare, permissu ejus arma extemplo cepit, proVectusque ante stationes equo Tauream nomine compellavit congregique ubi vellet jussit. Jam Romani 2 ad spectaculum pugnae ejus frequentes exierant, et Campani non vallum modo castrorum sed mœnia etiam urbis prospectantes repleverunt. Quum jam ante ferro-3 cibus dictis rem nobilitassent, infestis hastis concitârunt equos, dein libero spatio inter se ludificantes sine vulnere pugnam extrahebant. Tum Campanus Romano 4 “Equorum” inquit, “hoc non equitum erit certamen, nisi e campo in cavam hanc viam demittimus equos: ibi nullo ad evagandum spatio comminus conserentur manus.” Dicto prope citius equum in viam Claudius 5 dejecit: Taurea, verbis ferocior quam re, “Minime sis” inquit “cantherium in fossam,” quæ vox in rusticum inde proverbium prodita est. Claudius, quum ea via 6 longe perequitasset—quia nullo obvio hoste—in campum rursus evectus increpans ignaviam hostis cum magno gaudio et gratulatione victor in castra rediit,

- 7 Huic pugnae equestri rem—quam vera sit, communis certe existimatio est—mirabilem certe adjiciunt quidam annales: quum refugientem ad urbem Tauream Claudius sequeretur, patenti hostium portae invectum per alteram stupentibus miraculo hostibus intactum eva-
- (48) sisse. Quieta inde stativa fuere, ac retro etiam consul movit castra ut sementem Campani facerent, nec ante violavit agrum Campanum quam jam altae in segetibus herbae pabulum praebere poterant: id convexit in Claudiana castra super Suessulam ibique hiberna aedificavit: M. Claudio proconsuli imperavit ut retento Nolae necessario ad tuendam urbem praesidio ceteros milites dimitteret Romam, ne oneri sociis et sumptui rei publicae essent. Et Tib. Gracchus a Cumis Luceriam in Apuliam legiones quum duxisset, M. Valerium inde praetorem Brundisium cum eo quem Luceriae habuerat exercitu misit, tuerique oram agri Salentini et providere, quod ad Philippum bellumque Macedonicum adtineret, jussit.
- 3 Exitu aetatis ejus, qua haec gesta perscripsimus, litterae a P. et Cn. Scipionibus venerunt, quantas quamque prosperas in Hispania res gessissent: sed pecuniam in stipendium vestimentaue et frumentum exercitui et
- 4 sociis navalibus omnia deesse. Quod ad stipendium adtineat, si aerarium inops sit, se aliquam rationem inituros, quo modo ab Hispanis sumant: caetera utique ab Roma mittenda esse, nec aliter aut exercitum aut
- 5 provinciam teneri posse. Litteris recitatis nemo omnium erat quin et vera scribi et postulari aequa fatetur: sed occurrebat animis, quantos exercitus terrestres navalesque tuerentur quantaue nova classis mox paranda esset, si bellum Macedonicum moveretur. Siciliam ac Sardiniam, quae ante bellum vectigales fuissent, vix

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præsides provinciarum exercitus alere : tributo sumptus suppeditari : eum ipsum tributum conferentium numerum tantis exercituum stragibus et ad Trasumennum lacum et ad Cannas imminutum : qui superessent pauci, si multiplici gravarentur stipendio, alia perituros peste. Itaque nisi fide staret, rem publicam opibus non statutam : prodeundum in concionem Fulvio prætori esse, indicandas populo publicas necessitates cohortandosque, qui redempturis auxissent patrimonia, ut rei publicæ, ex qua crevissent, tempus commodarent, conducerentque ex lege præbenda quæ ad exercitum Hispaniensem opus essent, ut, quum pecunia in ærario esset, iis primis solveretur. Hæc prætor in concione: edixit, quo die vestimenta frumentum Hispaniensi exercitui præbenda quæque alia opus essent navalibus sociis esset locaturus. Ubi ea dies venit, ad conducendum tres societates (49) aderant hominum undeviginti, quorum duo postulata fuere, unum, ut militia vacarent dum in eo publico essent, alterum ut, quæ in naves imposuissent, ab hostium tempestatisque vi publico periculo essent. Utrouque impetrato conduxerunt privataque pecunia res publica administrata est. Hi mores eaque caritas patriæ per omnes ordines velut tenore uno pertinebat. Quemadmodum conducta omnia magno animo sunt, sic summa fide præbita, nec quicquam quam si ex opulento ærario ut quondam alerentur.

Quum hi commeatus venerunt, Iliturgi oppidum ab Hasdrubale ac Magone et Hamilcare Bomilcaris filio ob defectionem ad Romanos oppugnabatur. Inter hæc trina castra hostium Scipiones quum in urbem sociorum magno certamine ac strage obsistentium pervenissent, frumentum, cujus inopia erat, advexerunt, cohortatique oppidanos ut eodem animo mœnia tutarentur, quo pro

se pignantem Romanum exercitum vidissent, ad castra maxima oppugnanda, quibus Hasdrubal præerat, ducunt: eodem et duo duces et duo exercitus Carthaginiensium, ibi rem summam agi cernentes, convenerunt: itaque  
7 eruptione e castris pugnatum est. Sexaginta hostium millia eo die in pugna fuerunt, sedecim circa Romanis: tamen adeo haud dubia victoria fuit, ut plures numero, quam ipsi erant, Romani hostium occiderint, ceperint amplius tria millia hominum, paulo minus mille equorum, undesexaginta militaria signa, septem elephantos quinque in prælio occisis: trinisque eo die castris potiti  
8 sunt. Iliturgi obsidione liberato ad Intibili oppugnandum Punici exercitus traducti suppletis copiis ex provincia, ut quæ maxime omnium belli avida, modo præda  
9 aut merces esset, et tum juventute abundante. Iterum signis collatis eadem fortuna utriusque partis pugnatum: supra tredecim millia hostium cæsa, supra duo capta cum signis duobus et quadraginta et novem elephantis. Tum vero omnes prope Hispaniæ populi ad Romanos defecerunt, multoque majores ea æstate in Hispania quam in Italia res gestæ.

TITI LIVII  
AB URBE CONDITA  
HISTORIARUM.

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LIBER XXIV.

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Ut ex Campania in Bruttios reditum est, Hanno (1) adiutoribus et ducibus Bruttiis, Græcas urbes temptavit, eo facilius in societate manentes Romana, quod Bruttios, quos et oderant et metuebant, Carthaginensium partis factos cernebant. Regium primum temptatum est diesque aliquot ibi nequiquam absumpti. Interim Locrenses frumentum lignaque et cætera necessaria usibus ex agris in urbem rapere, etiam ne quid relictum prædæ hostibus esset, et in dies major omnibus portis multitudo effundi: postremo ii modo relictæ in urbe erant, qui reficere muros ac portas telaque in propugnacula congerere cogebantur. In permixtam omnium ætatum ordinumque multitudinem et vagantem in agris magna ex parte inermem Hamilcar Pœnus equites emisit, qui violari quemquam vetiti tantum ut ab urbe excluderent fuga dissipatos, turmas objecere. Dux ipse loco superiore capto, unde agros urbem possit conspicere, Bruttiorum cohortem adire muros atque evocare principes Locrensiarum ad colloquium iussit et pollicentes amicitiam Hannibalis adhortari ad urbem



6 tradendam. Bruttis in colloquio nullius rei primo fides est: deinde, ut Pœnus apparuit in collibus et refugientes pauci aliam omnem multitudinem in potestate hostium esse adferebant, tum metu victi consulturos se populum responderunt: advocataque extemplo concione, quum et levissimus quisque novas res novamque societatem mallent et, quorum propinqui extra urbem interclusi ab hostibus erant, velut obsidibus datis pigneratos haberent animos, pauci magis taciti probarent constantem fidem quam probatam tueri auderent, haud dubio in speciem consensu fit ad Pœnos

7 deditio. L. Atilio præfecto præsidii quique cum eo milites Romani erant clam in portum deductis atque impositis in naves, ut Regium deveherentur, Hamilcarem Pœnosque ea conditione, ut fœdus extemplo æquis legibus fieret, in urbem acceperunt. Cujus rei prope non servata fides deditis est, quum Pœnus dolo dimissum Romanum incusaret, Locrenses profugisse ipsum 9 causarentur. Insequuti etiam equites sunt, si quo casu in freto æstus morari aut deferre naves in terram 10 posset. Et eos quidem quos sequebantur non sunt adepti: alias a Messana trajicientes freto Regium naves conspexerunt—milites erant Romani a Claudio prætore missi ad obtinendam urbem præsidio—, itaque Regio 11 extemplo abscessum est. Locrensibus jussu Hannibalis data pax, ut liberi suis legibus viverent, urbs pateret Pœnis, portus in potestatem Locrensiū esset, societas eo jure staret ut Pœnus Locrensem Locrensesque Pœnum pace ac bello juvarent.

(2) Sic a freto Pœni reducti frementibus Bruttis, quod Regium ac Locros, quas urbes direpturos se destinaverant, intactas reliquissent. Itaque per se ipsi conscriptis armatisque juventutis suæ quindecim millibus

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ad Crotonem oppugnandum pergunt ire, Græcam et ipsam urbem et maritimam, plurimum accessurum opibus, si in ora maris urbem ac portum mœnibus valida tenuissent, credentes. Ea cura angebat, quod neque 3 non accersere ad auxilium Pœnos satis audebant ne quid non pro sociis egisse viderentur, et, si Pœnus rursus magis arbiter pacis quam adjutor belli fuisset, ne in libertatem Crotonis sicut ante Locrorum frustra pugnaretur: itaque optimum visum est ad Hannibalem mitti legatos caverique ab eo ut receptus Croto Brutiorum esset. Hannibal quum præsentium eam consul- 4 tationem esse respondisset et ad Hannonem eos rejecisset, ab Hannone nihil certi ablatum. Nec enim 5 diripi volebant nobilem atque opulentam urbem et sperabant, quum Bruttius oppugnaret, Pœnos nec probare nec juvare eam oppugnationem appareret, eo maturius ad se defecturos. Crotone nec consilium unum 6 inter populares nec voluntas erat: unus velut morbus invaserat omnes Italiæ civitates ut plebes ab optimatibus dissentirent, senatus Romanis faveret et plebs ad Pœnos rem traheret. Eam dissensionem in urbe per- 7 fuga nuntiat Bruttiis: Aristomachum esse principem plebis tradendæque auctorem urbis, et in vasta urbe lataque omnibus disjectis mœnibus raras stationes custodiasque senatorum esse: quacumque custodiant plebis homines, ea patere aditum. Auctore ac duce perfuga 8 Bruttii corona cinxerunt urbem acceptique ab plebe primo impetu omnem præter arcem cepere. Arcem 9 optimates tenebant præparato jam ante ad talem casum perfugio: eodem Aristomachus perfugit, tamquam Pœnis non Bruttiis auctor urbis tradendæ fuisset.

Urbs Croto murum in circuitu patentem duodecim (3) millia passuum habuit ante Pyrrhi in Italiam adventum:

- post vastitatem eo bello factam vix pars dimidia habitabatur: flumen, quod medio oppido fluxerat, extra frequentia tectis loca præterfluebat, at arx erat procul  
2 eis quæ habitabantur. Sedecim millia aberat ab urbe nobile templum—ipsa urbe erat nobilius—Laciniae Junonis, sanctum omnibus circa populis. Lucus ibi frequenti silva et proceris abietis arboribus sæptus læta in medio pascua habuit, ubi omnis generis sacrum deæ pecus pascebatur sine ullo pastore, separatimque greges sui cujusque generis nocte remeabant ad stabula numquam insidiis ferarum, non fraude violati hominum: magni igitur fructus ex eo pecore capti columnaue inde aurea solida facta et sacrata est, inclytumque templum divitiis etiam, non tantum sanctitate fuit.  
4 Ac miracula aliqua adfinguntur plerumque tam insignibus locis: fama est aram esse in vestibulo templi, cujus  
5 cinerem nullo umquam moveri vento. Sed arx Crotonis una parte imminens mari—altera vergente in agrum—situ tantum naturali quondam munita post ea et muro cincta est, qua per aversas rupes ab Dionysio Siciliæ  
6 tyranno per dolum fuerat capta. Ea tum arce—satis ut videbatur tuta—Crotoniatum optimates tenebant se circumsedente cum Bruttii eos etiam plebe sua: postremo Bruttii, quum suis viribus inexpugnabilem viderent arcem, coacti necessitate Hannonis auxilium  
7 implorant. Is conditionibus ad deditionem compellere Crotoniates conatus, ut coloniam Bruttiorum eo deduci antiquamque frequentiam eo recipere vastam ac desertam bellis urbem paterentur, omnium neminem præter Aristomachum movit: morituros se adfirmabant citius quam immixti Bruttii in alienos ritus mores legesque  
8 ac mox linguam etiam verterentur. Aristomachus unus, quando nec suadendo ad deditionem satis valebat

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nec sicut urbem prodiderat locum prodendæ arcis inveniebat, transfugit ad Hannonem. Locrenses brevi post legati, quum permissu Hannonis arcem intrassent, persuadent ut traduci se in Locros paterentur nec ultima experiri vellent. Jam hoc ut sibi liceret im-  
 10 traverant et ab Hannibale missis ad id ipsum legatis. Ita Crotonem excessum est deductique Crotoniatæ ad  
 11 mare naves conscendunt: Locros omnis multitudo abeunt.—In Apulia ne hiems quidem quieta inter Ro-  
 12 manos atque Hannibalem erat. Luceriæ Sempronius  
 13 consul, Hannibal haud procul Arpis hibernabat. Inter  
 14 eos levia prœlia ex occasione aut opportunitate hujus aut illius partis oriebantur, meliorque eis Romanus et in dies cautior tutiorque ab insidiis fiebat.

In Sicilia Romanis omnia mutaverat mors Hieronis (4) regnumque ad Hieronymum nepotem ejus translatum, puerum vixdum libertatem nedum dominationem modice laturum. Ea ætas, id ingenium: et tutores atque  
 2 amici ad præcipitandum in omnia vitia acceperunt. Quæ ita futura cernens Hiero ultima senecta voluisse  
 3 dicitur liberas Syracusas relinquere, ne sub dominatu puerili per ludibrium bonis artibus partum firmatumque interiret regnum. Huic consilio ejus summa ope ob-  
 4 stitere filiæ, nomen regium penes puerum futurum ratæ, regimen rerum omnium penes se virosque suos Andranodorum et Zoippum, qui regionum primi relinque-  
 bantur. Non facile erat nonagesimum jam agenti annum,  
 5 circumssesso dies noctesque muliebribus blanditiis, liberare animum et convertere ad publicam privata curam: itaque tutores modo quindecim pueri relinquit, quos precatus est moriens, ut fidem erga populum Romanum quinquaginta annos ab se cultam inviolatam servarent, juvenemque suis potissimum vestigiis insistere vellent,

6,7 disciplinæ, in qua eductus esset. Hæc mandata. Quum  
exspirasset, res capessunt tutores testamento prolato  
pueroque in concionem producto—erat autem quin-  
decim tum ferme annorum—paucis, qui per concionem  
ad excitandos clamores dispositi erant, adprobantibus  
testamentum, cæteris velut patre amisso in orba civi-  
8 tate omnia timentibus. Funus fit regium, magis amore  
9 civium et caritate quam cura suorum celebre. Brevi  
deinde cæteros tutores submovet Andranodorus, juvenem  
jam esse dictitans Hieronymum ac regni potentem:  
deponendoque tutelam ipse, quæ cum pluribus com-  
munis erat, in se unum omnium vires convertit.

- (5) Vix quidem ulli bono moderatoque regi facilis erat  
favor apud Syracusanos succedenti tantæ caritati Hie-  
ronis: verum enimvero Hieronymus, velut suis vitiis  
desiderabilem efficere vellet avum, primo statim con-  
2 spectu omnia quam disparia essent ostendit. Nam  
qui per tot annos Hieronem filiumque ejus Gelonem  
nec vestis habitu nec alio ullo insigni differentes a  
cæteris civibus vidissent, conspexere purpuram ac dia-  
dema ac satellites armatos, quadrigisque etiam alborum  
equorum interdum ex regia procedentem more Dionysii  
3 tyranni. Hunc tam superbum apparatus habitumque  
convenientes sequebantur contemptus omnium homi-  
num, superbæ aures, contumeliosa dicta, rari aditus  
non alienis modo sed tutoribus etiam, libidines novæ,  
4 inhumana crudelitas. Itaque tantus omnes terror in-  
vaserat, ut quidam ex tutoribus aut morte voluntaria  
5 aut fuga præverterent metum suppliciorum. Tres ex  
iis, quibus solis aditus in domum familiarior erat, An-  
dranodorus et Zoippus, generi Hieronis, et Thraso  
quidam, de aliis quidem rebus haud magnopere au-  
diebantur: tendendo autem duo ad Carthaginienses,

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Thrasso ad societatem Romanam, certamine ac studiis interdum in se convertebant animum adolescentis, quum conjuratio in tyranni caput facta indicatur per Calonem quendam, æqualem Hieronymi et jam inde a puero in omnia familiaria jura adsuetum. Index unum ex con- 6 juratis Theodotum, a quo ipse appellatus erat, nominare potuit, qui comprehensus extemplo traditusque Andrano- doro torquendus de se ipse haud cunctanter fassus conscios celabat: postremo, quum omnibus intolerandis patientiæ humanæ cruciatibus laceraretur, victum malis se simulans avertit ab consciis in insontes judicium, Thrasonem esse auctorem consilii mentitus, nec nisi tam potenti duce confisos rem tantam ausuros, ab la- tere tyranni, quorum capita vilissima fingenti inter dolores gemitusque occurrere. Maxime animo tyranni 7 credibile indicium Thrasso nominatus fecit: itaque ex- templo traditur ad supplicium adjectique pœnæ cæteri juxta insontes. Consciorum nemo, quum diu socius 8 consilii torqueretur, aut latuit aut fugit: tantum illis in virtute ac fide Theodoti fiduciæ fuit, tantumque ipsi Theodoto virium ad arcana occultanda.

Ita, quod unum vinculum cum Romanis societatis (6) erat, Thrassone sublato e medio, extemplo haud dubie ad defectionem res spectabat, legatique ad Hannibalem missi ac remissi ab eo cum Hannibale nobili adolescente Hippocrates et Epicydes, nati Carthagine sed oriundi ab Syracusis exsule avo, Pœni ipsi materno genere. Per hos juncta societas Hannibali ac Syracusano ty- 2 ranno, nec invito Hannibale apud tyrannum manserunt. Appius Claudius prætor, cujus Sicilia provincia 3 erat, ubi ea accepit, extemplo legatos ad Hieronymum misit, qui quum sese ad renovandam societatem quæ cum avo fuisset venisse dicerent, per ludibrium auditi

dimissique sunt ab quærente per jocum Hieronymo, quæ fortuna eis pugnæ ad Cannas fuisset: vix credibilia enim legatos Hannibalis narrare: velle quid veri sit scire, ut ex eo, utram spem sequatur, consilium 4 capiat. Romani, quum serio legationes audire cœpisset, redituros se ad eum dicentes esse, monito magis eo quam rogato ne fidem temere mutaret, profisciscuntur. 5 Hieronymus legatos Carthaginem misit ad fœdus ex societate cum Hannibale faciendum: pacto convenit ut, quum Romanos Sicilia expulissent—id autem brevi fore, si naves atque exercitum misissent—, Himera annis qui ferme dividit, finis regni Syracusani ac Punici imperii esset. Aliam deinde, inflatus adsentationibus eorum, qui eum non Hieronis tantum sed Pyrrhi etiam regis materni avi jubebant meminisse, legationem misit, qua æquum censebat Sicilia sibi omni cedi, Italiæ imperium proprium quæri Carthaginensi populo. 7 Hanc levitatem ac jactationem animi neque mirabantur in juvene furioso neque arguebant, dum modo averterent eum ab Romanis. Sed omnia in eo præcipitia (7) 2 ad exitium fuerunt. Nam quum præmissis Hippocrate atque Epicyde cum binis millibus armatorum ad temptandas urbes, quæ præsidiis tenebantur Romanis, et ipse in Leontinos cum cætero omni exercitu—erant autem ad quindecim millia peditum equitumque—profectus esset, liberas ædes conjurati—et omnes forte militabant—imminentes viæ angustæ, qua descendere 3 ad forum rex solebat, sumpserunt. Ibi quum structi armatique cæteri transitum exspectantes starent, uni ex eis—Dinomeni fuit nomen—quia custos corporis erat, partes datæ sunt ut, quum adpropinquaret januæ rex, per causam aliquam in angustis sustineret ab 4 tergo agmen. Ita ut convenerat factum est: tamquam

A. C. §15.]

laxaret elatum pedem ab stricto nodo, moratus turbam Dinomenes tantum intervalli fecit ut, quum in prætereuntem sine armatis regem impetus fieret, confoderetur aliquot prius vulneribus quam succurri posset. Clamore et tumultu audito in Dinomenem jam haud 5 dubie obstantem tela conjiciuntur, inter quæ tamen duobus acceptis vulneribus evasit. Fuga satellitum, 6 ut jacentem videre regem, facta est: interfectores pars in forum in multitudinem lætam libertate, pars Syracusas pergunt ad præoccupanda Andranodori regionumque aliorum consilia. Incerto rerum statu Ap. 7 Claudius bellum oriens ex propinquo quum cerneret senatum litteris certiores fecit Siciliam Carthaginensi populo et Hannibali conciliari, ipse adversus Syracusana consilia ad provinciam regnique fines omnia convertit præsidia.

Exitu anni ejus Q. Fabius ex auctoritate senatus 8 Puteolos, per bellum cæptum frequentari emporium, communit præsidiumque imposuit: inde Romam comitiorum causa veniens in eum quem primum diem comitiales habuit comitia edixit, atque ex itinere præter urbem in campum descendit. Eo die quum sors prærogativæ Aniensi juniorum exisset eaque T. Otacilium M. Æmiliū Regillum consules diceret, tum Q. Fabius silentio facto tali oratione est usus: "Si aut pacem in (8) Italia aut bellum eumque hostem haberemus, in quo negligentiae laxior locus esset, qui vestris studiis, quæ in campum ad mandandos quibus velitis honores adferatis, moram ullam offerret, is mihi parum meminisse videretur vestræ libertatis: sed quum in hoc bello in hoc hoste numquam ab ullo duce sine ingenti nostra clade erratum sit, eadem vos cura, qua in aciem armati descenditis, inire suffragium ad creandos consules decet



et sibi sic quemque dicere 'Hannibali imperatori par-  
2 rem consulem nomino.' Hoc anno ad Capuam Vibellio  
T'aureæ Campano summo equiti provocanti summus  
Romanus eques Asellus Claudius est oppositus: adver-  
sus Gallum quondam provocantem in ponte Anienis  
T. Manlium fidentem et animo et viribus misere ma-  
jores nostri: ob eandem causam haud multis annis  
post fuisse non negaverim, cur M. Valerio non diffi-  
deretur adversus similiter provocantem arma capienti  
3 Gallum ad certamen. Quemadmodum pedites equi-  
tesque optamus ut validiores, si minus, ut pares hosti  
habeamus, ita duci hostium parem imperatorem quæ-  
4 ramus. Quum, qui est summus in civitate dux, eum  
legerimus, tamen repente lectus in annum creatus ad-  
versus veterem ac perpetuum imperatorem comparabi-  
tur, nullis neque temporis nec juris inclusum angustiis,  
quo minus ita omnia gerat administretque ut tempora  
postulabunt belli: nobis autem in apparatu ipso ac  
5 tantum inchoantibus res annus circumagitur. Quo-  
niam, quales viros creare vos consules deceat, satis est  
dictum, restat ut pauca de eis, in quos prærogativæ  
6 favor inclinavit, dicam. M. Æmilius Regillus flamen  
est Quirinalis, quem neque mittere ab sacris neque  
retinere possumus, ut non deûm aut belli deseramus  
7 curam. Otacilius sororis meæ filiam uxorem atque  
ex ea liberos habet: cæterum non ea vestra in me  
maioresque meos merita sunt, ut non potiore pri-  
8 vatis necessitudinibus rem publicam habeam. Qui-  
libet nautarum vectorumque tranquillo mari guber-  
nare potest: ubi sæva orta tempestas est ac turbato  
mari rapitur vento navis, tum viro et gubernatore  
9 opus est. Non tranquillo navigamus sed jam ali-  
quot procellis submersi pæne sumus: itaque quis ad

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gubernacula sedeat, summa cura providendum ac præcavendum vobis est. In minore te experti, T. Otacili, 10 re sumus: haud sane, cur ad majora tibi fidamus, documenti quicquam dedisti. Classem hoc anno, cui 11 tu præfuiſti, trium rerum causa paravimus, ut Africæ oram popularetur, ut tuta nobis Italiæ litora essent, ante omnia ne supplementum cum stipendio commeatuque ab Carthagine Hannibali transportaretur. Create 12 consulem T. Otacilium, non dico si omnia hæc sed si aliquid eorum rei publicæ præstitit: sin. autem te classem obtinente etiam velut placato mari quælibet Hannibali tuta atque integra ab domo venerunt, si ora Italiæ infestior hoc anno quam Africæ fuit, quid dicere potes, cur te potissimum ducem Hannibali hosti opponant? si consul esses, dictatorem dicendum exemplo majorum nostrum censeremus: nec tu id indignari posses, aliquem in civitate Romana meliorem bello haberi quam te. Magis nullius interest quam tua, T. 13 Otacili, non imponi cervicibus tuis onus sub quo concidas. Ego magnopere moneo suadeoque, eodem animo 14 quo, si stantibus vobis in aciem armatis repente deligendi duo imperatores essent, quorum ductu atque auspicio dimicaretis, hodie quoque consules creetis, quibus sacramento liberi vestri dicant, ad quorum edictum conveniant, sub quorum tutela atque cura militent. Lacus Trasumennus et Cannæ tristitia ad recordationem 15 exempla sed ad præcavendas similes clades documento sunt. Præco, Aniensem juniorum in suffragium revoca." Quum T. Otacilius ferociter eum continuare (9) consulatum velle vociferaretur atque obstreperet, lictores ad eum accedere consul jussit et, quia in urbem non inierat protinus in campum ex itinere profectus, admonuit cum securibus sibi fasces præferri. Iterum 2

prærogativa suffragium init creatique in ea consules Q. Fabius Maximus quartum M. Marcellus tertium : eosdem consules cæteræ centuriæ sine variatione ulla dixerant. Et prætor unus reffectus Q. Fulvius Flaccus, novi alii creati, T. Otacilius Crassus iterum, Q. Fabius consulis filius qui tum ædilis curulis erat, P. Cornelius 4 Lentulus. Comitii prætorum perfectis senatus consultum factum ut Q. Fulvio extra ordinem urbana provincia esset, isque potissimum consulibus ad bellum 5 profectis urbi præesset. Aquæ magnæ bis eo anno fuerunt, Tiberisque agros inundavit cum magna strage tectorum pecorumque et hominum pernicie.

6 Quinto anno secundi Punici belli Q. Fabius Maximus quartum M. Claudius Marcellus tertium consulatum ineuntes plus solito converterant in se civitatis animos : multis enim annis tale consulum par non fuerat : referebant senes sic Maximum Rullum cum P. Decio ad bellum Gallicum, sic post ea Papirium Carviliūque adversus Samnites Bruttiosque et Lucanum cum Ta- 7 rentino populum consules declaratos. Absens Marcellus consul creatus, quum ad exercitum esset, præsentī Fabio atque ipso comitia habente consulatus 8 continuatus. Tempus ac necessitas belli ac discrimen summæ rerum faciebant ne quis aut in exemplum exquireret aut suspectum cupiditatis imperii consulem haberet : quin laudabant potius magnitudinem animi, quod, quum summo imperatore esse opus rei publicæ sciret seque eum haud dubie esse, minoris invidiam suam, si qua ex re oreretur, quam utilitatem rei publicæ fecisset.

(10) Quo die magistratum inierunt consules, senatus in Capitolio est habitus, decretumque omnium primum ut consules sortirentur compararentve inter se, uter cen-

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soribus creandis comitia haberet priusquam ad exercitum proficisceretur. Prorogatum deinde imperium omnibus qui ad exercitus erant, jussique in provinciis manere, Tib. Gracchus Luceriæ ubi cum volonum exercitu erat, G. Terentius Varro in agro Piceno, M'. Pomponius in Gallico: et prætores prioris anni pro prætore Q. Mucius obtineret Sardiniam, M. Valerius ad Brundisium oræ maritimæ intentus adversus omnes motus Philippi Macedonum regis præesset: P. Cornelio Lentulo prætori Sicilia decreta provincia, T. Otacilio classis eadem quam adversus Carthaginienses priore anno habuisset.

Prodigia eo anno multa nuntiata sunt, quæ quo 3 magis credebant simplices ac religiosi homines, eo plura nuntiabantur: Lanuvii in æde intus Sospitæ Junonis corvos nidum fecisse, in Apulia palmam viridem arsisse, Mantuæ stagnum effusum Mincio amni cruentum visum, et Calibus creta et Romæ in foro bovario sanguine pluvisse, et in vico Insteio fontem sub terram tanta vi aquarum fluxisse ut serias doliaque, quæ in eo loco erant, provoluta velut impetus torrentis tulerit: tacta de cælo atrium publicum in Capitolio, ædem in campo Vulcani, nucem in Sabinis, publicamque viam murum ac portam Gabiis. Jam alia vulgata miracula erant: 4 hastam Martis Præneste sua sponte promotam, bovem in Sicilia loquutum, infantem in utero matris in Marucinis "Io triumphæ" clamasse, ex muliere Spoleti virum factum, Hadriæ aram in cælo speciesque hominum circum eam cum candida veste visas esse: quin Romæ quoque in ipsa urbe secundum apum examen in foro visum adfirmantes quidam legiones se armatas in Janiculo videre concitaverunt civitatem ad arma: qui quum in Janiculo essent, negârunt quemquam ibi

5 præter adsuetos collis ejus cultores adparuisse. Hæc prodigia hostiis majoribus procurata sunt ex haruspicum responso, et supplicatio omnibus deis, quorum pulvinaria Romæ essent, indicta est.

- (11) Perpetratis quæ ad pacem deum pertinebant, de re publica belloque gerendo et quantum copiarum et ubi 2 quæque essent, consules ad senatum rettulerunt. Duodeviginti legionibus bellum geri placuit: binas consules sibi sumere, binis Galliam Siciliamque ac Sardiniam obtineri, duabus Q. Fabium prætorem Apuliæ, duabus volonum Tib. Gracchum circa Luceriam præesse, singulas C. Terentio proconsuli ad Picenum et M. Valerio ad classem circa Brundisium relinqui, duas urbi præsidio esse. Hic ut numerus legionum expleretur, sex 3 novæ legiones erant scribendæ: eas primo quoque tempore consules scribere jussi et classem parare, ut cum eis navibus, quæ pro Calabriæ litoribus in statione essent, centum quinquaginta longarum classis navium 4 eo anno expleretur. Dilectu habito et centum navibus novis deductis Q. Fabius comitia censoribus creandis habuit: creati M. Atilius Regulus et P. Furius Philus.
- 5 Quum increbresceret rumor bellum in Sicilia esse, 6 T. Otacilius eo cum classe proficisci jussus est. Quum deessent nautæ, consules ex senatus consulto edixerunt ut, qui L. Æmilio C. Flaminio censoribus millibus æris quinquaginta ipse aut pater ejus census fuisset usque ad centum millia aut cui post ea res tanta esset facta, nautam unum cum sex mensium stipendio daret: qui 7 supra centum millia usque ad trecenta, tres nautas cum stipendio annuo: qui supra trecenta usque ad deciens æris, quinque nautas: qui supra deciens, septem: senatores octo nautas cum annuo stipendio darent. Ex hoc edicto dati nautæ armati instructique ab dominis cum

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triginta dierum coctis cibariis naves conscenderunt. Tum primum est factum ut classis Romana sociis 8 navalibus privata impensa paratis compleretur.

Hic major solito apparatus præcipue conterruit Cam- (12)  
panos, ne ab obsidione Capuæ bellum ejus anni Romani  
inciperent. Itaque legatos ad Hannibalem oratum mi- 2  
serunt ut Capuam exercitum admooveret: ad eam op-  
pugnandam novos exercitus scribi Romæ nec ullius  
urbis defectioni magis infensos eorum animos esse.  
Id quia tam trepide nuntiabant, maturandum Hannibal 3  
ratus, ne prævenirent Romani, profectus Arpis ad  
Tifata in veteribus castris super Capuam consedit:  
inde, Numidis Hispanisque ad præsidium simul castro-  
rum simul Capuæ relictis, cum cætero exercitu ad  
lacum Averni per speciem sacrificandi, re ipsa ut temp-  
taret Puteolos quodque ibi præsidii erat, descendit.  
Maximus, postquam Hannibalem Arpis profectum et 4  
regredi in Campaniam adlatum est, nec die nec nocte  
intermisso itinere ad exercitum redit, et Tib. Gracchum  
ab Luceria Beneventum copias admoovere, Q. Fabium  
prætorem—is filius consulis erat—Luceriam Graccho  
succedere jubet. In Siciliam eodem tempore duo præ- 5  
tores profecti, P. Cornelius ad exercitum, T. Otacilius  
qui maritimæ oræ rei que navali præesset: et cæteri in  
suas quisque provincias profecti: et quibus prorogatum  
imperium erat, easdem quas priori anno regiones ob-  
tinuerunt.

Ad Hannibalem, quum ad lacum Averni esset, quin- (13)  
que nobiles juvenes ab Tarento venerunt, partim ad  
Trasumennum lacum partim ad Cannas capti dimissique  
domos cum eadem comitate, qua usus adversus omnes  
Romanorum socios Pœnus fuerat. Ii memores bene- 2  
ficiorum ejus perpulisse magnam partem se juventutis

Tarentinæ referunt, ut Hannibalis amicitiam ac societatem quam populi Romani mallerent, legatosque ab suis missos rogare Hannibalem ut exercitum propius Tarentum admoveat : si signa ejus si castra conspecta a Tarento sint, haud ullam intercessuram moram quin urbe potiatur : in potestate juniorum plebem, in manu plebis rem Tarentinam esse. Hannibal collaudatos eos oneratosque ingentibus promissis domum ad cœpta maturanda redire jubet : se in tempore adfuturum esse. Hac cum spe dimissi Tarentini. Ipsum ingens cupido incesserat Tarenti potiundi : urbem esse videbat quum opulentam nobilemque tum maritimam et in Macedoniam opportune versam : regemque Philippum hunc portum, si transiret in Italiam, Brundisium quum Romani haberent, petiturum. Sacro inde perpetrato ad quod venerat, et, dum ibi moratur, pervastato agro Cumano usque ad Miseni promontorium, Puteolos repente agmen convertit ad opprimendum præsidium Romanum. Sex millia hominum erant et locus munimento quoque non natura modo tutus. Triduum ibi moratus Pœnus ab omni parte temptato præsidio, deinde, ut nihil procedebat, ad populandum agrum Neapolitanum magis ira quam potiundæ urbis spe processit. Adventu ejus in propinquum agrum mota Nolana est plebs jam diu aversa ab Romanis et infesta senatui suo : itaque legati ad arcessendum Hannibalem cum haud dubio promisso tradendæ urbis venerunt. Prævenit inceptum eorum Marcellus consul a primoribus accitus : die uno Suesulam a Calibus, quum Vulturinus amnis trajicientem moratus esset, contenderat, inde proxima nocte sex millia peditum, qui præsidio senatui essent, Nola intromisit. Et uti a consule omnia impigre facta sunt ad præoccupandam Nola, ita Hannibal tempus tere-

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bat, bis jam ante nequiquam temptata re segnior ad credendum Nolanis factus.

Iisdem diebus et Q. Fabius consul ad Casilinum temp- (14)  
tandum, quod præsidio Punico tenebatur, venit, et ad Beneventum velut ex composito parte altera Hanno ex Bruttis cum magna peditum equitumque manu, altera Tib. Gracchus ab Luceria accessit: qui primo oppidum intravit, deinde, ut Hannonem tria millia ferme ab urbe ad Calorem fluvium castra posuisse et inde agrum populari audivit, et ipse egressus mœnibus mille ferme passus ab hoste castra locat. Ibi concionem militum 2  
habuit: legiones magna ex parte volonum habebat, qui jam alterum annum libertatem tacite mereri quam postulare palam maluerant: senserat tamen hibernis egrediens murmur in agmine esse quærentium, en umquam liberi militaturi essent, scripseratque senatui non tam quid desiderarent quam quid meruissent: bona fortique opera eorum se ad eam diem usum neque ad exemplum justi militis quicquam eis præter libertatem deesse. De eo permissum ipsi erat, faceret quod e re publica 3  
duceret esse. Itaque, priusquam cum hoste manum 4  
consereret, pronuntiat tempus venisse eis libertatis, quam diu sperâssent, potiundæ: postero die signis collatis dimicaturum puro ac patenti campo, ubi sine ullo insidiarum metu vera virtute geri res posset: qui caput hostis rettulisset, eum se extemplo liberum jussurum esse, qui loco cessisset, in eum servili supplicio animadversurum: suam cuique fortunam in manu esse: libertati auctorem eis non se fore solum sed consulem M. Marcellum sed universos patres, quos consultos ab se de libertate eorum sibi permisisse: et litteras inde consulis ac senatus consultum recitavit. Ad quæ clamor 5  
cum ingenti adsensu est sublatus: pugnam poscebant



6 signumque ut daret extemplo ferociter instabant. Gracchus proelio in posterum diem pronuntiato concionem  
7 dimisit. Milites læti, præcipue quibus merces navata  
in unum diem operæ libertas futura erat, armis expe-  
(15) diendis quod diei reliquum consumunt. Postero die  
ubi signa cœperunt canere, primi omnium parati in-  
structique ad prætorium conveniunt: sole orto Grac-  
2 chus in aciem copias educit. Nec hostes moram dimi-  
candi fecerunt: decem septem millia peditum erant,  
maxima ex parte Bruttii ac Lucani, equites mille du-  
centi, inter quos pauci admodum Italici, cæteri Numidæ  
3 fere omnes Maurique. Pugnatum est et acriter et diu:  
4 quattuor horis neutro inclinata est pugna. Nec alia  
magis Romanum impediēbat res quam capita hostium  
pretia libertati facta: nam ut quisque hostem impigre  
occiderat, primum capite ægre inter turbam tumult-  
tumque abscidendo terebat tempus, deinde occupata  
dextra tenendo caput fortissimus quisque pugnator  
esse desierat, segnis ac timidus tradita pugna erat.  
5 Quod ubi tribuni militum Graccho nuntiaverunt, ne-  
minem stantem jam vulnerari hostem, carnificari jacen-  
tes, et in dextris militum pro gladiis humana capita  
esse, signum dari propere jussit, projicerent capita  
invaderentque hostem: claram satis et insignem vir-  
tutem esse nec dubiam libertatem futuram strenuis  
6 viris. Tum redintegrata pugna est et eques etiam in  
7 hostes emissus. Quibus quum impigre Numidæ con-  
currissent nec segnior equitum quam peditum pugna  
8 esset, iterum in dubium adducta res. Quum utrimque  
duces, Romanus Bruttium Lucanumque totiens a ma-  
joribus suis victos subactosque, Pœnus mancipia Ro-  
mana et ex ergastulo militem verbis obtereret, postremo  
pronuntiat Gracchus esse nihil quod de libertate spe-

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rarent, nisi eo die fusi fugatique hostes essent. Ea(16)  
demum vox ita animos accendit, ut renovato clamore  
velut alii repente facti tanta vi se in hostem intulerint,  
ut sustineri ultra non possent. Primo antesignani Poe- 2  
norum; dein signa perturbata, postremo tota impulsa  
acies: inde haud dubie terga data, ruuntque fugientes  
in castra adeo pavidi trepidique, ut ne in portis quidem  
aut vallo quisquam restiterit. Ac prope continenti 3  
agmine Romani insequuti novum de integro praelium  
inclusi hostium vallo ediderunt: ibi sicut pugna in-  
expeditior in angustiis, ita cædes atrocior fuit: et  
adjuvare captivi, qui rapto inter tumultum ferro con-  
globati et ab tergo ceciderunt Pœnos et fugam impe-  
dierunt. Itaque minus duo millia hominum ex tanto 4  
exercitu et ea major pars equitum cum ipso duce ef-  
fugerunt, alii omnes cæsi aut capti: capta et signa  
duodequadraginta. Ex victoribus duo millia ferme ce- 5  
cidere. Præda omnis præterquam hominum captorum  
militi concessa est: et pecus exceptum est, quod intra  
dies triginta domini cognovissent.

Quum præda onusti in castra redissent, quattuor 6  
millia ferme volonum militum, quæ pugnaverant seg-  
nius nec in castra irruerant simul, metu pœnæ collem  
haud procul castris ceperunt: postero die per tribunos  
militum inde deducti concione militum advocata a  
Graccho superveniunt. Ubi quum proconsul veteres 7  
milites primum, prout cujusque virtus atque opera in  
ea pugna fuerat, militaribus donis donâset, tunc, quod  
ad volones adtineret, omnes ait malle laudatos a se  
dignos indignosque, quam quemquam eo die castigatum  
esse: quod bonum faustum felixque rei publicæ ipsis-  
que esset, omnes eos liberos esse jubere. Ad quam 8  
vocem quum clamor ingenti alacritate sublatus esset,

ac nunc complexi inter se gratulantesque nunc manus ad cœlum tollentes bona omnia populo Romano Gracchoque ipsi precarentur, tum Gracchus "Priusquam omnes jure libertatis æquâsem" inquit, "æminem nota strenui aut ignavi militis notâsse volui: nunc exsoluta jam fide publica, ne discrimen omne virtutis ignaviæque pereat, nomina eorum, qui detractatæ pugnae memores secessionem paulo ante fecerunt, referri ad me jubebo, citatosque singulos jurejurando adigam, nisi qui morbus causa erit, non aliter quam stantes cibum potionemque, quoad stipendia facient, capturos esse: hanc multam ita æquo animo feretis, si reputabitis nulla ignaviæ nota leviores vos designari potuisse."

9 Signum deinde colligendi vasa dedit, militesque prædam portantes agentesque per lasciviam ac jocum ita ludibundi Beneventum rediere, ut ab epulis celebrem festumque diem actis non ex acie reverti viderentur.

10 Beneventani omnes turba effusa quum obviam ad portas exissent, complecti milites, gratulari, vocare in hospi-

11 tium. Apparata convivia omnibus in propatulo ædium fuerant: ad ea invitabant Gracchumque orabant ut

12 epulari permetteret militibus. Et Gracchus ita per-

13 misit, in publico epularentur omnes. Ante suas quisque fores prolata omnia: pileati aut lana alba velatis capitibus volones epulati sunt, alii accubantes, alii stan-

14 tes, qui simul ministrabant vescebanturque. Dignares visa ut simulacrum celebrati ejus diei Gracchus, postquam Romam rediit, pingi juberet in æde Libertatis, quam pater ejus in Aventino ex multaticia pecunia faciendam curavit dedicavitque.

(17) Quum hæc ad Beneventum geruntur, Hannibal depopulatus agrum Neapolitanum ad Nolam castra 2 movet. Quem ubi adventare consul sensit, Pomponio

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proprætore cum eo exercitu qui super Suessulam in castris erat accito, ire obviam hosti parat nec moram dimicandi facere. C. Claudium Neronem cum robore 3 equitum silentio noctis per aversam maxime ab hoste portam emittit, circumvectumque occulte subsequi sensim agmen hostium jubet et, quum coortum prælium videret, ab tergo se objicere. Id errore viarum an 4 exiguitate temporis Nero exsequi non potuerit, incertum est: absente eo quum prælium commissum esset, superior quidem haud dubie Romanus erat, sed, quia equites non adfuere in tempore, ratio compositæ rei turbata est: non ausus insequi cedentes Marcellus vincentibus suis signum receptui dedit. Plus tamen 5 duo millia hostium eo die cæsa traduntur, Romanis minus quadringenti. Solis fere occasu Nero diem noctemque nequiquam fatigatis equis hominibusque ne viso quidem hoste rediens adeo graviter est ab consule increpitus, ut per eum stetisse diceret, quo minus accepta ad Cannas redderetur hosti clades. Postero 6 die Romanus in aciem descendit, Pœnus tacita etiam confessione victus castris se tenuit: tertio die silentio noctis omissa spe Nolæ potiundæ, rei numquam prospere temptatæ, Tarentum ad certiores spes proditiōis proficiscitur.

Nec minore animo res Romana domi quam militiæ (18) gerebatur. Censores vacui ab operum locandorum cura propter inopiam ærarii ad mores hominum regendos animum adverterunt castigandaque vitia, quæ, velut diutinis morbis ægra corpora ex sese gignunt, eo nata bello erant. Primum eos citaverunt qui post Cannen- 2 sem cladem agitasse de Italia deserenda dicebantur: princeps eorum L. Cæcilius Metellus quæstor tum forte erat: jussu deinde eo cæterisque ejusdem noxæ reis

- causam dicere, quum purgari nequissent, pronuntiarunt, verba orationemque eos adversus rem publicam habuisse, quo conjuratio deserendæ Italiæ causa fieret.
- 3 Secundum eos citati nimis callidi exsolvendi jurisjurandi interpretes, qui captivorum ex itinere regressi clam in castra Hannibalis solutum, quod juraverunt
- 4 redituros, rebantur. His superioribusque illis equi adempti, qui publicum equum habebant, tribuque moti
- 5 ærarii omnes facti. Neque senatu modo aut equestri ordine regendo cura se censorum tenuit: nomina omnium ex juniorum tabulis excerpserunt qui quadriennio non militassent, quibus neque vacatio justa militiæ neque morbus causa fuisset: et ea supra duo millia nominum in ærarios relata tribuque omnes moti: additumque tam tristi censoriæ notæ triste senatus consultum, ut ii omnes, quos censores notassent, pedibus mererent mitterenturque in Siciliam ad Cannensis exercitus reliquias, cui militum generi non prius quam pulsus Italia hostis esset finitum stipendiorum tempus
- 6 erat. Quum censores ob inopiam ærarii se jam locationibus abstinerent ædium sacrarum tuendarum curuliumque equorum præbendorum ac similium his rerum, convenere ad eos frequentes qui hastæ hujus generis adsueverant, hortarique censores ut omnia perinde agerent locarent ac si pecunia in ærario esset: neminem nisi bello confecto pecuniam ab ærario petiturum esse.
- 7 Convenere deinde domini eorum, quos Tib. Sempronius ad Beneventum manu emiserat, arcessitosque se ab triumviris mensariis esse dixerunt ut pretia servorum acciperent: cæterum non ante quam bello confecto accepturos esse. Quum hæc inclinatio animorum plebis ad sustinendam inopiam ærarii fieret, pecuniæ quoque pupillares primo deinde viduarum coeptæ con-

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ferri, nusquam eas tutius sanctiusque deponere credentibus qui deferebant quam in publica fide. Inde 9 si quid emptum paratumque pupillis ac viduis foret, a quæstore perscribebatur. Manavit ea privatorum 10 benignitas ex urbe etiam in castra, ut non eques non centurio stipendium acciperet, mercenariumque increpantes vocarent qui accepisset.

Q. Fabius consul ad Casilinum castra habebat, quod (19) duum millium Campanorum et septingentorum militum Hannibalis tenebatur præsidio. Præerat Statius Me- 2 tius missus ab Cn. Magio Atellano, qui eo anno medixtuticus erat servitiæque et plebem promiscue armârat, ut castra Romana invaderet intento consule ad Casilinum oppugnandum. Nihil eorum Fabium fefellit: 3 itaque Nola ad collegam mittit, altero exercitu, dum Casilinum oppugnatur, opus esse qui Campanis opponatur: vel ipse relicto Nolæ præsidio modico veniret, vel, si eum Nola teneret nec dum securæ res ab Hannibale essent, se Tib. Gracchum proconsulem a Benevento acciturum. Hoc nuntio Marcellus duobus mi- 4 litum millibus Nolæ in præsidio relictis cum cætero exercitu Casilinum venit, adventuque ejus Campani jam moventes sese quieverunt. Ita ab duobus con- 5 sulibus Casilinum oppugnari cœpit. Ubi quum multa succedentes temere mœnibus Romani milites acciperent vulnera neque satis inceptum succederet, Fabius omit- tendam rem parvam ac juxta magnis difficilem abscedendumque inde censebat, quum res majores instarent: Marcellus multa magnis ducibus sicut non adgredienda ita semel adgressis non dimittenda esse dicendo, quia magna famæ momenta in utramque partem fierent, tenuit ne irritò incepto abiretur. Vinæ inde omniæque 7

alia operum machinationumque genera quum admo-  
 verentur, Campanique Fabium orarent ut abire Capuam  
 tuto liceret, paucis egressis Marcellus portam qua  
 egrediebantur occupavit, cædesque promiscue omnium  
 circa portam primo, deinde irruptione facta etiam in  
 8 urbe fieri cœpta est. Quinquaginta fere primo egressi  
 Campanorum, quum ad Fabium confugissent, præsidio  
 9 ejus Capuam pervenerunt. Casilinum inter colloquia  
 cunctationemque petentium fidem per occasionem cap-  
 tum est: captivique Campanorum quique Hannibalis  
 militum erant Romam missi atque ibi in carcere inclusi  
 sunt, oppidanorum turba per finitimos populos in cus-  
 todiam divisa.

- (20) Quibus diebus a Casilino re bene gesta recessum est,  
 eis Gracchus in Lucanis aliquot cohortes in ea regione  
 conscriptas cum præfecto socium in agro hostium præ-  
 datum misit: eos effuse palatos Hanno adortus haud  
 multo minorem, quam ad Beneventum acceperat, red-  
 didit hosti cladem, atque in Bruttios raptim, ne Grac-  
 2 chus adsequeretur, concessit. Consules Marcellus retro  
 unde venerat Nola redit, Fabius in Samnites ad  
 populandos agros recipiendasque armis quæ defecerant  
 3 urbes processit. Caudinus Samnis gravius devastatus:  
 perusti late agri, prædæ pecudum hominumque actæ,  
 oppida vi capta Compulteria Telesia Compsa, inde  
 Fugifulæ et Orbitanium: ex Lucanis Blandæ, Apu-  
 lorum Æcæ oppugnatae: millia hostium in his urbibus  
 viginti quinque capta aut occisa et recepti perfugæ  
 trecenti septuaginta, quos quum Romam misisset con-  
 sul, virgis in comitio cæsi omnes ac de saxo dejecti.  
 4,5 Hæc a Q. Fabio intra paucos dies gesta. Marcellum ab  
 6 gerundis rebus valetudo adversa Nolæ tenuit. Et a

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prætorē Q. Fabio, cui circa Luceriam provincia erat, Acuca oppidum per eos dies vi captum stativaque ad Ardoneas communita.

Dum hæc aliis locis ab Romanis geruntur, jam Tarentum pervenerat Hannibal cum maxima omnium quacumque ierat clade. In Tarentino demum agro pacatum 8 incedere agmen cœpit: nihil ibi violatum neque usquam via excoessum est, apparebatque non id modestia militum aut ducis nisi ad conciliandos animos Tarentinorum fieri. Cæterum quum prope modo muris 9 successisset, nullo ad conspectum primum agminis, ut rebatur, motu facto, castrâ ab urbe ferme passus mille locat. Tarenti, triduo antè, quam Hannibal ad mœnia 10 accederet, a M. Valerio proprætore, qui classi ad Brundisium præerat, missus M. Livius, priore conscripta juventute dispositisque ad omnes portas circaque muros, qua res postulabat, stationibus, die ac nocte juxta intentus neque hostibus neque dubiis sociis loci quicquam præbuit ad temptandum. Quære diebus aliquot frustra 11 ibi absumptis Hannibal, quum eorum nemo, qui ad lacum Averni adissent, aut ipsi venirent aut nuntium litterasve mitterent, vana promissa se temere sequutum cernens castra inde movit. Tum quoque intacto agro 12 Tarentino, quamquam simulata lenitas nihildum profuerat, tamen spe labefactandæ fidei haud absistens, Salapiam ut venit, frumentum ex agris Metapontino atque Heracleensi—jam enim æstas exacta erat et hibernis placebat locus—comportat. Prædatum inde 13 Numidæ Maurique per Salentinum agrum proximosque Apuliæ saltus dimissi sunt, unde cæteræ prædæ haud multum, equorum greges maxime abacti, e quibus ad quattuor millia domanda equitibus divisa.

Romani, quum bellum nequaquam contemnendum in (21)



Sicilia oreretur morsque tyranni duces magis impigros dedisset Syracusanis quam causam aut animos mutasset, M. Marcello alteri consulum eam provinciam decernunt. Secundum Hieronymi cædem primo tumultuatum in Leontinis apud milites fuerat vociferatumque ferociter, parentandum regi sanguine conjuratorum esse: deinde libertatis restitutæ dulce auditu nomen crebro usurpatum, spes facta ex pecunia regia largitionis militiæque fungendæ potioribus ducibus, et relata tyranni fœda scelera fœdioresque libidines adeo mutavere animos, ut insepultum jacere corpus paulo ante desiderati regis paterentur. Quum cæteri ex conjuratis ad exercitum obtinendum remansissent, Theodotus et Sosis regiis equis quanto maximo cursu poterant, ut ignaros omnium regiones opprimerent, Syracusas contendunt. Cæterum prævenerat non fama solum, quæ nihil in talibus rebus est celerius, sed nuntius etiam ex regiis servis. Itaque Andranodorus et Insulam et arcem et alia, quæ poterat quæque opportuna erant, præsidiis firmârat. Hexapylo Theodotus ac Sosis post solis occasum jam obscura luce invecti quum cruentam regiam vestem atque insigne capitis ostentarent, travecti per Tychem simul ad libertatem simul ad arma vocantes in Achradinam convenire jubent. Multitudo pars procurrit in vias, pars in vestibulis stat, pars ex tectis fenestrisque prospectant et quid rei sit rogitant: omnia luminibus collucent strepituque vario complentur: armati locis patentibus congregantur, inermes ex Olympii Jovis templo spolia Gallorum Illyriorumque, dono data Hieroni a populo Romano fixaque ab eo, detrahunt, precantes Jovem ut volens propitius præbeat sacra arma pro patria pro deûm delubris pro libertate sese armantibus. Hæc quoque multitudo stationibus per

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principes regionum urbis dispositis adjungitur. In Insula inter cætera Andranodorus præsi-  
dia firma: locus saxo quadrato septus atque arcis in  
modum emunitus capitur ab juventute, quæ præsidio  
ejus loci adtributa erat, mittuntque nuntios in Achra-  
dinam horrea frumentumque in senatus potestate esse.

Luce prima populus omnis armatus inermisque in (22)  
Achradinam ad curiam convenit. Ibi pro Concordiæ 2  
ara, quæ in eo sita loco erat, ex principibus unus  
nomine Polyænus concionem et liberam et moderatam  
habuit: servitudinis indignitatisque homines expertos  
adversus notum malum irritatos esse: discordia civilis  
quas importet clades, audisse magis a patribus Syracu-  
sanos quam ipsos vidisse: arma quod impigre ceperint,  
laudare, magis laudaturum, si non utantur nisi ultima  
necessitate coacti. In præsentia legatos ad Andrano- 3  
dorum mitti placere, qui denuntient ut in potestate  
senatus ac populi sit, portas Insulæ aperiat, reddat  
præsidium: si tutelam alieni regni suum regnum velit  
facere, eundem se censere multo acrius ab Andranodoro  
quam ab Hieronymo repeti libertatem. Ab hac con-  
cione legati missi sunt. Senatus inde haberi cœptus 4  
est, quod sicut regnante Hierone manserat publicum  
consilium, ita post mortem ejus ante eam diem nulla de  
re neque convocati neque consulti fuerant. Ut ventum 5  
ad Andranodorum est, ipsum quidem movebat et civium  
consensus et quum aliæ occupatæ urbis partes tum pars  
Insulæ velut munitissima prodita atque alienata. Sed 6  
evocatum eum ab legatis Demarata uxor filia Hieronia,  
inflata adhuc regis animis ac muliebri spiritu, admonet  
sæpe usurpatæ Dionysii tyranni vocis, qua pedibus trac-  
tum non insidentem equo relinquere tyrannidem dixerit  
debere: facile esse momento quo quis velit cedere pos-

sessione magnæ fortunæ, facere et parare eam difficile atque arduum esse: spatium sumeret ad consultandum ab legatis: eo uteretur ad arcessendos ex Leontinis milites, quibus si pecuniam regiam pollicitus esset, omnia  
 7 in potestate ejus futura. Hæc muliebria consilia Andranodorus neque tota aspernatus est neque extemplo accepit, tutiorem ad opes adfectandas ratus esse viam, si in præsentia tempori cessisset: itaque legatos renuntiare jussit, futurum se in senatus ac populi potestate.

8 Postero die luce prima patefactis Insulæ portis in  
 9 forum Achradinæ venit. Ibi in aram Concordiæ, ex qua pridie Polyænus concionatus erat, escendit orationemque eam orsus est, qua primum cunctationis suæ veniam petivit: se enim clausas habuisse portas non separantem suas res a publicis, sed strictis semel gladiis timentem, qui finis cædibus esset futurus, utrum, quod satis libertatis foret, contenti nece tyranni essent, an, quicumque aut propinquitate aut adfinitate aut aliquibus ministeriis regiam contigissent, alienæ culpæ rei trucidarentur: postquam animadverterit eos, qui liberassent patriam, servare etiam liberatam velle atque undique consuli in medium, non dubitasse quin et corpus suum et cætera omnia quæ suæ fidei tutelæque essent, quoniam eum qui mandasset suus furor absumpsisset, patriæ restitueret: conversus deinde ad interfec-tores tyranni ac nomine appellans Theodotum ac Sosin, “Facinus” inquit “memorable fecistis: sed mihi credite, inchoata vestra gloria nondum perfecta est, periculumque ingens manet, nisi paci et concordiæ consulitis,

(23) ne libera efferatur res.” Post hanc orationem claves portarum pecuniæque regiæ ante pedes eorum posuit.

2 Atque illo quidem die dimissi ex concione læti circa fana omnia deûm supplicaverunt cum conjugibus ac

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liberis, postero die comitia prætorum creandi sunt habita. Creatus in primis Andranodorus, cæteri magna ex parte interfectores tyranni: duos etiam absentes, Sopatrum ac Dinomenen, fecerunt. Qui auditis iis, quæ Syracusis acta erant, pecuniam regiam quæ in Leontinis erat Syracusas devectam quæstoribus ad id ipsum creatis tradiderunt: et ea quæ in Insula erat Achradinam tradita est, murique ea pars, quæ ab cætera urbe nimis firmo munimento intersæpiebat Insulam, consensu omnium dejecta est. Sequuntæ et cæteræ res hanc inclinationem animorum ad libertatem.

Atque Hippocrates atque Epicydes audita morte tyranni, quam Hippocrates etiam nuntio interfecto celare voluerat, deserti a militibus, quia id tutissimum ex præsentibus videbatur, Syracusas rediere. Ubi ne suspecti obversarentur tamquam novandi res aliquam occasionem quærentes, prætores primum, dein per eos senatum adeunt: ab Hannibale se missos prædicant ad Hieronymum tamquam amicum ac socium, paruisse imperio ejus cujus imperator suus voluerit: velle ad Hannibalem redire, cæterum, quum iter tutum non sit vagantibus passim per totam Siciliam Romanis armis, petere ut præsidii dent aliquid, quo Locros in Italiam perducantur: gratiam magnam eos parva opera apud Hannibalem inituros. Facile res impetrata: abire enim duces regios quum peritos militiæ tum egentes eisdem atque audaces cupiebant: sed quod volebant, non quam maturato opus erat, naviter expediebant. Interim juvenes militares et adsueti militibus, nunc apud eos ipsos nunc apud transfugas, quorum maxima pars ex navalibus sociis Romanorum erat, nunc etiam apud infimæ plebis homines crimina serebant in senatum optimatesque: id moliri clam eos atque struere, ut

Syracusæ per speciem reconciliatæ societatis in ditione Romanorum sint, dein factio ac pauci auctores fœderis renovati dominantur.

- (24) His audiendis credendisque opportuna multitudo major in dies Syracusas confluebat, nec Epicydi solum spem novandarum rerum sed Andranodoro etiam præbebat: qui fessus tandem uxoris vocibus, monentis nunc illud esse tempus occupandi res, dum turbata omnia nova atque incondita libertate essent, dum regiis stipendiis pastus obversaretur miles, dum ab Hannibale missi duces adsueti militibus juvare possent incepta, cum Themisto, cui Gelonis filia nupta erat, rem consociatam paucos post dies Aristoni cuidam tragico actori, cui et alia arcana committere adsuêrat, incaute aperit.
- 2 Huic et genus et fortuna honesta erant, nec ars, quia nihil tale apud Græcos pudori est, ea deformabat: itaque fidem priorem potioremq; ratus quam patriæ
- 3 debebat, indicium ad prætores defert. Qui ubi rem haud vanam esse certis indiciis compererunt, consultis senioribus et auctoritate eorum præsidio ad fores posito, ingressos curiam Themistum atque Andranodorum in-
- 4 terfecerunt. Et quum tumultus ab re in speciem atrocior, causam aliis ignorantibus, ortus esset, silentio tandem facto indicem in curiam introduxerunt: qui quum ordine omnia edocuisset, et principium conjurationis factum ab Harmoniæ Gelonis filiæ nuptiis, quibus Themisto juncta esset, Afrorum Hispanorumque auxiliares instructos ad cædem prætorum principumque aliorum, bonaque eorum prædæ futura intersectoribus pronuntiatum, jam mercennariorum manum adsuetam imperiis Andranodori paratam fuisse ad Insulam rursus occupandam, singula deinde, quæ per quosque agerentur, totamque viris armisque instructam conjurationem

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ante oculos posuit. Et senatui quidem tam jure cæsi 5  
quam Hieronymus videbantur, ante curiam variæ atque  
incertæ rerum multitudinis clamor erat. Quam fero- 6  
citer minitantes in vestibulo curiæ corpora conjura-  
torum eo metu compresserunt, ut silentes integram  
plebem in concionem sequerentur. Sopatro manda- 7  
tum ab senatu et a collegis ut verba faceret. Is, tam- (25)  
quam reos ageret, ab ante acta vita orsus, quæcumque  
post Hieronis mortem scelestæ atque impie facta essent,  
Andranodorum ac Themistum arguit fecisse. Quid enim 2  
sua sponte fecisse Hieronymum, puerum ac vixdum  
pubescentem facere potuisse? tutores ac magistros ejus  
sub aliena invidia regnasse: itaque aut ante Hierony-  
mum aut certe cum Hieronymo perire eos debuisset.  
At illos debitos jam morti destinatosque alia nova 3  
scelera post mortem tyranni molitos, palam primo,  
quum clausis Andranodorus Insulæ portis hereditatem  
regni creverit et, quæ procurator tenuerat, pro domino  
possederit: proditus deinde ab eis qui in Insula erant,  
circumsessus ab universa civitate, quæ Achradinani  
tenuerit, nequiquam palam atque aperte petitum regnum  
clam et dolo adfectare conatus sit, et ne beneficio quidem  
atque honore potuerit vinci, quum inter liberatores  
patriæ insidiator ipse libertatis creatus esset prætor:  
sed animos eis regios regias conjuges fecisse, alteri  
Hieronis alteri Gelonis filias nuptas. Sub hanc vocem 4  
ex omnibus partibus concionis clamor oritur, nullam  
earum vivere debere nec quemquam superesse tyran-  
norum stirpis. Ea natura multitudinis est, aut servit 5  
humiliter aut superbe dominatur, libertatem, quæ media  
est, nec cupere modice nec habere sciunt: et non  
ferme desunt irarum indulgentes ministri, qui avidos  
atque intemperantes suppliciorum animos ad sanguinem

6 et cædes irritent. Sicut tum extemplo prætores rogationem promulgârunt acceptaque pæne prius quam promulgata est, ut omnes regiæ stirpis interficerentur: missique a prætoribus Demaratam Hieronis et Harmoniam Gelonis filiam, conjuges Andranodori et Themisti, interfecerunt.

- (26) Heraclia erat filia Hieronis, uxor Zoippi, qui legatus ab Hieronymo ad regem Ptolemæum missus voluntarium consciverat exsilium. Ea quum ad se quoque venire præcîsset, in sacrarium ad penates confugit cum duabus filiabus virginibus resolutis orinibus miserabilique alio habitu: et ad ea addidit preces nunc per memoriam Hieronis patris Gelonisque fratris, ne se innoxiam invidia Hieronymi conflagrare sinerent: nihil se ex regno illius præter exsilium viri habere, neque fortunam suam eandem vivo Hieronymo fuisse quam  
3 sororis, neque interfecto eo causam eandem esse. Quid quod, si Andranodoro consilia processissent, illa cum  
4 viro fuerit regnatura, sibi cum cæteris serviendum. Si quis Zoippo nuntiet interfectum Hieronymum ac liberatas Syracusas, cui dubium esse quin extemplo conscensurus sit navem atque in patriam rediturus? quantum spes hominum falli! in liberata patria conjugem ejus ac liberos de vita dimicare—quid obstantes libertati aut legibus? quod ab se cuiquam periculum, a sola ac prope vidua et puellis in orbitatem decedentibus esse? at enim periculi quidem nihil ab se timere, invisam  
5 tamen stirpem regiam esse. Ablegarent ergo procul ab Syracusis Siciliaque, et absportari Alexandriam juberent ad virum uxorem, ad patrem filias. Aversis auribus animisque, casse ne tempus tereretur—ferrum quosdam expedites cernebat—tum omissis pro se precibus, puellis ut saltem parcerent orare institit, a qua

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ætate etiam hostes iratos abstinere, ne tyrānnos ulciscendo quæ odissent scelera ipsi imitarentur. Inter 7 hæc abstractam a penetralibus jugulant: in virgines deinde respersas matris cruore impetum faciunt: quæ alienata mente simul luctu metuque velut captæ furore eo cursu se ex sacrario proripuerunt, ut, si effugium patuisset in publicum, impleturæ urbem tumultu fuerint: tum quoque haud magno ædium spatio inter medios tot armatos aliquotiens integro corpore evaserunt, tenentibusque, quum tot ac tam validæ eluctandæ manus essent, sese eripuerunt: tandem vulneribus confectæ, quum omnia replēssent sanguine, exanimis corruerunt. Cædemque per se miserabilem miserabiliorem 8 casus fecit, quod paulo post nuntius venit mutatis repente ad misericordiam animis, ne interfloerentur. Ira deinde ex misericordia orta, quod adeo festinatum 9 ad supplicium neque locus pœnitendæ aut regressus ab ira relictus esset: itaque fremere multitudo et in locum Andranodori ac Themisti—nam ambo prætores fuerant—comitia poscere, quæ nequaquam ex sententia prætorum futura essent. Statutus est comitiis dies: quo (27) nec opinantibus omnibus unus ex ultima turba Epicyden nominavit, tum inde alius Hippocratem: crebriores deinde hæ voces et cum haud dubio adsensu multitudinis esse. Et erat confusa concio non populari 2 modo sed militari quoque turba, magna ex parte etiam perfugis, qui omnia novare cupiebant, permixtis. Præ- 3 tores dissimulare primo, et trahendam rem esse: postremo victi consensu et seditionem metuentes pronuntiant eos prætores. Nec illi primo statim creati nudare 4 quid vellent, quamquam ægre ferebant et de induciis dierum decem legatos fuisse ad Ap. Claudium, et impetratis eis alios, qui de fœdere antiquo renovando agerent,



5 missos. Ad Murgantiam tum classem navium centum Romanus habebat, quonam evaderent motus ex cædibus tyrannorum orti Syracusis, quove eos ageret nova atque insolita libertas, opperiens.

6 Per eosdem dies quum ad Marcellum venientem in Siciliam legati Syracusani missi ab Appio essent, auditis conditionibus pacis Marcellus, posse rem convenire ratus, et ipse legatos Syracusas, qui coram cum præto-

7 ribus de renovando fœdere agerent, misit. Et jam ibi

8 nequaquam eadem quies ac tranquillitas erat. Postquam Punicam classem accessisse Pachynum adlatum est, dempto timore Hippocrates et Epicydes nunc apud mercennarios milites nunc apud transfugas prodi Ro-

9 mano Syracusas criminabantur. Ut vero Appius naves ad ostium portus, quo aliæ partis hominibus animus accederet, in statione habere cœpit, ingens in speciem criminibus vanis accesserat fides, ac primo etiam tumultuose decurrerat multitudo ad prohibendos, si in

(28) terram egrederentur. In hac turbatione rerum in concionem vocari placuit: ubi quum alii alio tenderent nec procul seditione res esset, Apollonides principum unus orationem salutarem ut in tali tempore habuit: nec spem salutis nec perniciem propiorem umquam civitati ulli fuisse: si enim uno animo omnes vel ad Romanos vel ad Carthaginienses inclinent, nullius civitatis statum fortunatiorem ac beatiorum fore: si alii alio trahant res, non inter Pœnos Romanosque bellum atrocius fore quam inter ipsos Syracusanos, quum intra eosdem muros pars utraque suos exercitus sua arma suos habitura sit duces: itaque, ut idem omnes sentiant, summa vi agendum esse: utra societas t utilior, eam longe minorem ac levioris momenti contationem esse: sed tamen Hierónis potius quam

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Hieronymi auctoritatem sequendam in sociis legendis, vel quinquaginta annis feliciter expertam amicitiam nunc incognitæ, quondam infideli præferendam: esse etiam momenti aliquid ad consilium, quod Carthaginensibus ita pax negari posset, ut non utique in præsentia bellum cum eis geratur: cum Romanis extemplo aut pacem aut bellum habendum. Quo minus cupiditatis ac studii visa est oratio habere, eo plus auctoritatis habuit. Adjectum est prætoribus ac delectis senatorum militare etiam consilium: jussi et duces ordinum præfectique auxiliorum simul consulere. Quum sæpe acta res esset magnis certaminibus, postremo, quia bellum cum Romanis gerendi ratio nulla apparebat, pacem fieri placuit mittique cum eis legatos ad rem confirmandam.

Dies haud ita multi intercesserunt, quum ex Leon-(29) tinis legati præsidium finibus suis orantes venerunt, quæ legatio peropportuna visa ad multitudinem inconditam ac tumultuosam exonerandam ducesque ejus ablegandos: Hippocrates prætor ducere eo transfugas jussus: sequuti multi ex mercenariis auxiliis quattuor millia armatorum effecerunt. Et mittentibus et missis ea læta expeditio fuit: nam et illis, quod jam diu cupiebant, novandi res occasio data est, et hi sentinam quandam urbis rati exhaustam lætabantur. Cæterum levaverunt modo in præsentia velut corpus ægrum, quo mox in graviorem morbum recideret. Hippocrates enim finitima provinciæ Romanæ primo furtivis excursionibus vastare cœpit, deinde, quum ad tuendos sociorum agros missum ab Appio præsidium esset, omnibus copiis impetum in oppositam stationem cum cæde multorum fecit. Quæ quum essent nuntiata Marcello, legatos extemplo Syracusas misit, qui pacis fidem ruptam esse dicerent nec belli defuturam umquam causam,

- nisi Hippocrates atque Epicydes non ab Syracusis modo  
 6 sed tota procul Sicilia ablegarentur. Epicydes, ne aut  
 reus criminis absentis fratris præsens esset aut decesset  
 pro parte sua concitando bello, profectus et ipse in  
 Leontinos, quia satis eos adversus populum Romanum  
 concitatos cernebat, avertere etiam ab Syracusanis coepit:  
 nam ita eos pacem pepigisse cum Romanis, ut, quicum-  
 que populi sub regibus fuissent, et suæ ditionis essent:  
 nec jam liberatos contentos esse, nisi etiam regnant ac  
 dominantur: renuntiandum igitur eis esse, Leontinos  
 quoque æquum censere liberos esse, vel quod in solo  
 urbis suæ tyrannus ceciderit, vel quod ibi primum con-  
 clamatum ad libertatem relictisque regiis ducibus Syra-  
 cusas concursum sit: itaque aut eximendum id de  
 fœdere esse aut legem eam fœderis non accipiendam.  
 7 Facile multitudini persuasum, legatisque Syracusanorum  
 et de cæde stationis Romanæ querentibus et Hippocra-  
 ten atque Epicyden abire seu Locros seu quo alio  
 mallent, dum modo Sicilia cederent, jubentibus ferociter  
 responsum est, neque mandâsse sese Syracusanis ut  
 pacem pro se cum Romanis facerent neque teneri  
 8 alienis fœderibus. Hæc ad Romanos Syracusani de-  
 tulerunt abnuentes Leontinos in sua potestate esse:  
 itaque integro secum fœdere bellum Romanos cum iis  
 gesturos, neque sese defuturos ei bello, ita ut in po-  
 testatem redacti suæ rursus ditionis essent, sicut pax  
 convenisset.
- (30) Marcellus cum omni exercitû profectus in Leontinos,  
 Appio quoque accito ut altera parte adgrederetur, tanto  
 ardore militum est usus ab ira inter conditiones pacis  
 interfectæ stationis, ut primo impetu urbem expugna-  
 2 rent. Hippocrates atque Epicydes postquam capi muros  
 refringique portas videre, in arcem sese cum paucis

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recepere, inde clam nocte Herbesum perfugiant. Sy-  
racusanis octo millium armatorum agmine profectis  
domo ad Mylan flumen nuntius occurrit captam urbem  
esse, cætera falsa mixta veris ferens: cædem promiscuam  
militum atque oppidanorum factam nec quicquam pu-  
berum arbitrari superesse, direptam urbem, bona locu-  
pletium donata. Ad nuntium tam atrocem constitit 4  
agmen, concitatisque omnibus duces—erant autem Sosis  
ac Dinomenes—quid agerent consultabant. Terroris  
speciem haud vanam mendacio præbuerant verberati  
ac securi percussi transfugæ ad duo millia hominum:  
cæterum Leontinorum militumque aliorum nemo post  
captam urbem violatus fuerat, suæque omnia eis, nisi  
quæ primus tumultus captæ urbis absumpserat, resti-  
tuebantur. Nec ut Leontinos irent, proditos ad cædem 6  
commilitones querentes, perpelli potuere, nec ut eodem  
loco certiores nuntium expectarent. Quum ad de- 7  
fectionem inclinatos animos cernerent prætores, sed  
eum motum haud diuturnum fore si duces amentiae  
sublati essent, exercitum ducunt Megara, ipsi cum  
paucis equitibus Herbesum proficiscuntur spe territis  
omnibus per prodicionem urbis potiundæ. Quod ubi 8  
frustra eis fuit inceptum, vi agendum rati postero die  
Megaris castra movent, ut Herbesum omnibus copiis  
oppugnarent. Hippocrates et Epicydes, non tam tutum 9  
prima specie quam unum spe undique abscisa consilium  
esse rati, ut se militibus permitterent et adsuetis magna  
ex parte sibi et tum fama cædis commilitonum ac-  
censis, obviam agmini procedunt. Prima forte signa 10  
sexcentorum Cretensium erant, qui apud Hieronymum  
meruerant sub eis et Hannibalis beneficium habebant  
capti ad Trasumennum inter Romanorum auxilia di-  
missique. Quos ubi ex signis habituque armorum 11

cognovere, Hippocrates atque Epicydes ramos oleæ ac velamenta alia supplicium porrigentes orare, ut reciperent sese ut receptos tutarentur neu proderent Syracusanis, a quibus ipsi mox trucidandi populo Romano dederentur. Enimvero conclamant, bonum ut animum haberent: omnem se cum illis fortunam subituros. Inter hoc colloquium signa constiterunt tenebaturque agmen, nec dum quæ moræ causa foret pervenerat ad duces. Postquam Hippocraten atque Epicyden pervasit rumor fremitusque toto agmine erat haud dubie adprobantium adventum eorum, extemplo prætores citatis equis ad prima signa perrexerunt, qui mos illis et quæ licentia Cretensium esset rogantes colloquia serendi cum hoste, injussuque prætorum miscendi eos agmini suo? comprehendi injicique catenas jusserunt Hippocrati. Ad quam vocem tantus extemplo primum a Cretensibus clamor est ortus, deinde exceptus ab aliis, ut facile, si ultra tenderent, appareret eis timendum esse. Solliciti incertique rerum suarum Megara, unde profecti erant, referri signa jubent nuntiosque de statu præsentis Syracusas mittunt. Fraudem quoque Hippocrates addit inclinatis ad omnem suspicionem animis, et Cretensium quibusdam ad itinera insidenda missis velut interceptas litteras—quas ipse composuerat—recitat: “Prætores Syracusani consuli Marcello:” secundum salutem, ut adsolet, scriptum erat, recte eum atque ordine fecisse quod in Leontinis nulli pepercisset: sed omnium mercenariorum militum eandem esse causam nec umquam Syracusas quieturas, donec quicquam externorum auxiliorum aut in urbe aut in exercitu suo esset: itaque daret operam ut eos, qui cum suis prætoribus castra ad Megara haberent, in suam potestatem redigeret ac supplicio eorum liberaret

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tandem Syracusas. Hæc quum recitata essent, cum 6  
tanto clamore ad arma discursus est, ut prætores inter  
tumultum pavidī abequitaverint Syracusas. Et ne fuga 7  
quidem eorum seditio compressa est impetusque in  
Syracusanos milites fiebant: nec ab ullo temperatum  
foret, ni Epicydes atque Hippocrates iræ multitudinis  
obviam issent, non a misericordia aut humano consilio,  
sed ne spem reditus præciderent sibi, et quum ipsos  
simul milites fidos haberent simul obsides, tum cognatos  
quoque eorum atque amicos tanto merito primum dein  
pignore sibi conciliarent. Expertique, quam vana aut 8  
levi aura mobile vulgus esset, militem nacti ex eo  
numero, qui in Leontinis circumsessi erant, subornant,  
ut Syracusas perferret nuntium convenientem eis quæ  
ad Mylas falso nuntiata erant, auctoremque se exhi-  
bendo ac velut visa quæ dubia erant narrando concitaret  
iras hominum. Huic non apud vulgum modo fides fuit (32)  
sed senatum quoque in curiam introductus movit.  
Haud vani quidam homines palam ferre, perbene de- 2  
tectam in Leontinis esse avaritiem et crudelitatem  
Romanorum: eadem, si intrassent Syracusas, aut fœ-  
diora etiam, quo majus ibi avaritiæ præmium esset,  
facturos fuisse. Itaque claudendas cuncti portas et 3  
custodiendam urbem censere. Sed non ab isdem omnes 4  
timere nec eosdem odisse: ad militare genus omne  
partemque magnam plebis invisum esse nomen Ro-  
manum: prætores optimatiumque pauci, quamquam  
inflammati vano nuntio erant, tamen ad propius præ-  
sentiusque malum cautiore esse. Et jam ad Hexapy- 5  
lum erant Hippocrates atque Epicydes, serebanturque  
colloquia per propinquos popularium qui in exercitu  
erant, ut portas aperirent sinerentque communem pa-  
triam defendi ab impetu Romanorum. Jam unis 6

foribus Hexapyli apertis coepti erant recipi, quum  
 prætores intervenerunt: et primo imperio minisque  
 deinde auctoritate deterrendo, postremo, ut omnia  
 vana erant, obliti majestatis precibus agebant, ne pro-  
 derent patriam tyranni ante satellitibus et tum cor-  
 7 ruptoribus exercitus. Sed surdæ ad ea omnia aures  
 concitatæ multitudinis erant nec minore intus vi quam  
 foris portæ effringebantur, effractisque omnibus toto  
 8 Hexapylo agmen receptum est. Prætores in Achra-  
 9 dinam cum juventute popularium confugiunt. Merce-  
 narii milites perfugæque et quidquid regionum militum  
 Syracusis erat agmen hostium augent: ita Achradina  
 quoque primo impetu capitur, prætorumque nisi qui  
 10 inter tumultum effugerunt, omnes interficiuntur. Nox  
 11 cædibus finem fecit. Postero die servi ad pileum  
 vocati et carcere vinoti emissi, confusaque hæc omnis  
 multitudo Hippocraten atque Epicyden creant prætores,  
 Syracusæque, quum breve tempus libertas adfulsisset,  
 in antiquam servitutem reciderant.

- (33) Hæc nuntiata quum essent Romanis, ex Leontinis  
 mota sunt extemplo castra ad Syracusas. Et ab Appio  
 legati per portum missi forte in quinquerei erant:  
 præmissa quadriremis quum intrâsset fauces portus,  
 2 capitur, legati ægre effugerunt. Et jam non modo  
 pacis sed ne belli quidem jura relicta erant, quum  
 Romanus exercitus ad Olympium—Jovis id templum  
 est—mille et quingentos passus ab urbe castra posuit.  
 3 Inde quoque legatos præmitti placuit, quibus, ne in-  
 trarent urbem, extra portam Hippocrates atque Epi-  
 4 cydes obviam cum suis processerunt. Romanus orator  
 non bellum se Syracusanis sed opem auxiliumque ad-  
 ferre ait, et iis, qui ex media cæde elapsi perfugerint  
 ad se, et iis, qui metu oppressi fœdiorem non exsilio

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solum sed etiam morte servitutem patiantur: nec eadem nefandam sociorum inultam Romanos passuros: itaque si eis, qui ad se perfugerunt, tutus in patriam reditus pateret, cædis auctores dedantur et libertas legesque Syracusanis restituantur, nihil armis opus esse: si ea non fiant, quicumque in mora sit, bello persequenturos. Ad ea Epicydes, si qua ad se mandata 5 haberent, responsum eis ait se daturus fuisse: quum in eorum ad quos venerint manu res Syracusana esset, tum reverterentur: si bello lacerarent, ipsa re intellecturos, nequaquam idem esse Syracusas ac Leontinos oppugnare. Ita legatis relictis portas clausit. 6

Inde terra marique simul coeptæ oppugnari Syracusæ, 7 terra ab Hexapylo, mari ab Achradina, cujus murus fluctu adluitur. Et quia, sicut Leontinos terrore ac 8 primo impetu ceperant, non diffidebant vastam disiectamque spatio urbem parte aliqua se invasuros, omnem apparatus oppugnandarum urbium muris admovent. Et habuisset tanto impetu coepta res fortunam, nisi (34) unus homo Syracusis ea tempestate fuisset: Archimedes is erat, unicus spectator cæli siderumque, mirabilior tamen inventor ac machinator bellicorum tormentorum operumque, quibus, quidquid hostes ingenti mole agerent, ipse perlevi momento ludificaretur. Murus per 2 inæquales ductus colles: pleraque alta et difficilia aditu: submissa quædam et quæ planis vallibus adire possent, ut cuique aptum visum est loco, ita genere omni tormentorum instruxit. Achradinæ murum, qui, 3 ut ante dictum est, mari adluitur, ex quinquere milibus Marcellus oppugnabat. Ex cæteris navibus sagittarii 4 funditoresque et velites etiam, quorum telum ad remittendum inhabile imperitis est, vix quemquam sine



- vulnere consistere in muro patiebantur : hi, quia spatio  
 5 missilibus opus est, procul muro tenebant naves. Junc-  
 tæ aliæ binæ quinqueres, demptis interioribus remis  
 ut latus lateri adplicaretur, quum exteriori ordine re-  
 morum velut una navis agerentur, turres contabulatas  
 6 machinamenta que alia quatiendis muris portabant. Ad-  
 versus hunc navalem apparatus Archimedes variæ  
 7 magnitudinis tormenta in muris disposuit. In eas quæ  
 procul erant naves saxa ingenti pondere emittebat,  
 propiores levioribus eoque magis crebris petebat telis :  
 postremo, ut sui vulnere intacti tela in hostem ingere-  
 rent, murum ab imo ad summum crebris cubitalibus  
 fere caveis aperuit, per quæ cava pars sagittis pars  
 8 scorpionibus modicis ex occulto petebant hostem. Quæ  
 propius quædam subibant naves quo interiores ictibus  
 tormentorum essent, in eas tollenone super murum  
 eminente ferrea manus firmæ catenæ illigata quum in-  
 jecta proræ esset gravique libramento plumbi recelleret  
 ad solum, suspensa prora navem in puppim statuebat,  
 dein remissa subito velut ex muro cadentem navem  
 cum ingenti trepidatione nautarum ita undæ adfligebat  
 ut, etiam si recta reciderat, aliquantum aquæ acciperet.  
 9 Ita maritima oppugnatio est elusa, omnisque spes ad id  
 10 versa ut totis viribus terra adgrederentur. Sed ea  
 quoque pars eodem omni apparatu tormentorum in-  
 structa erat, Hieronis impensis cura que per multos  
 11 annos, Archimedis unica arte. Natura etiam adjuvabat  
 loci, quod saxum, cui imposita muri fundamenta sunt,  
 magna parte ita proclive est, ut non solum missa  
 tormento sed etiam, quæ pondere suo provoluta essent,  
 graviter in hostem inciderent : eadem causa ad subeun-  
 dum arduum aditum instabilemque ingressum præbebat.

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Ita consilio habito, quoniam omnis conatus ludibrio 12  
esset, absistere oppugnatione atque obsidendo tantum  
arcere terra marique commeatibus hostem placuit.

Interim Marcellus cum tertia fere parte exercitus ad (35)  
recipiendas urbes profectus, quæ in motu rerum ad  
Carthaginienses defecerant, Helorum atque Herbesum  
dedentibus ipsis recipit, Megara vi capta diruit ac diripuit  
ad reliquorum ac maxime Syracusanorum terrorem.  
Per idem fere tempus et Himilco, qui ad Pachyni pro- 2  
montorium classem diu tenuerat, ad Heracleam—quam  
vocant Minoam—quinque et viginti millia peditum tria  
equitum duodecim elephantos exposuit, nequaquam cum  
quantis copiis ante tenuerat ad Pachynum classem.  
Et, postquam ab Hippocrate occupatæ Syracusæ erant, 3  
profectus Carthaginem adjutusque ibi et ab legatis  
Hippocratis et litteris Hannibalis, qui venisse tempus  
aiebat Siciliæ per summum decus repetendæ, et ipse  
haud vanus præsens monitor facile perpulerat, ut quan-  
tæ maxime possent peditum equitumque copiæ in Sici-  
liam trajicerentur. Adveniens Heracleam, intra paucos 4  
inde dies Agrigentum recepit: aliarumque civitatum,  
quæ partis Carthaginiensium erant, adeo accensæ sunt  
spes ad pellendos Sicilia Romanos, ut postremo etiam  
qui obsidebantur Syracusis animos sustulerint. Et 5  
parte copiarum satis defendi urbem posse rati ita inter  
se munera belli partiti sunt, ut Epicydes præesset  
custodiæ urbis, Hippocrates Himilconi conjunctus bel-  
lum adversus consulem Romanum gereret: cum decem  
millibus peditum quingentis equitibus nocte per inter-  
missa custodiis loca profectus castra circa Acrillas  
urbem ponebat. Munientibus supervenit Marcellus ab 6  
Agrigento jam occupato, quum frustra eo prævenire  
hostem festinans tetendisset, rediens, nihil minus ratus

quam illo tempore ac loco Syracusanum sibi exercitum obvium fore: sed tamen metu Himilconis Pœnorumque, ut quibus nequaquam eis copiis quas habebat par esset, quam poterat maxime intentus atque agmine ad  
 (36) omnes casus composito ibat. Forte ea cura, quæ adversus Pœnos præparata, adversus Siculos usui fuit: castris ponendis incompositos ac dispersos nanctus eos et plerosque inermes quod peditum fuit circumvenit, eques levi certamine inito cum Hippocrate Acras per-  
 2 fugit. Ea pugna defugientes ab Romanis quum cohibuisset Siculos, Marcellus Syracusas redit: et post paucos dies Himileo adjuncto Hippocrate ad flumen  
 3 Anapum octo ferme inde millia castra posuit. Sub idem forte tempus et naves longæ quinque et quinquaginta Carthaginiensium cum Bomilcare classis in magnum portum Syracusis ex alto decurrere, et Romanæ item classis triginta quinqueremes legionem primam Panormi exposuere, versumque ab Italia bellum, adeo uterque populus in Siciliam intentus, fuisse videri  
 4 poterat. Legionem Romanam, quæ exposita Panormi erat, venientem Syracusas prædæ haud dubie sibi futuram Himileo ratus via decipitur: mediterraneo namque Pœnus itinere duxit, legio maritimis locis classe prosequente ad Appium Claudium Pachynum cum parte  
 5 copiarum obviam progressum pervenit. Nec diutius Pœni ad Syracusas morati sunt: et Bomilcar, simul parum fidens navibus suis—duplici facile numero classem habentibus Romanis—simul inutili mora cernens nihil aliud ab suis quam inopiam adgravari sociorum, velis in altum datis in Africam transmisit: et Himileo sequutus nequiquam Marcellum Syracusas, si qua, priusquam majoribus copiis jungeretur, occasio pugnandi esset, postquam ea nulla contigerat tutumque ad Syra-

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ousas et munimento et viribus hostem cernebat, ne frustra adsidendo spectandoque obsidionem sociorum tempus tereret, castra inde movit, ut, quocumque vocasset defectionis ab Romano spes, admoveret exercitum ac præsens suas res foveantibus adderet animos. Mur-  
 6  
 gantiam primum prodito ab ipsis præsidio Romano recipit, ubi frumenti magna vis commeatusque omnis : generis convecti erant Romanis.

Ad hanc defectionem erecti sunt et aliarum civitatum (37) animi, præsidiaque Romana aut pellebantur arcibus aut prodita per fraudem opprimebantur. Henna, ex- 2  
 celso loco ac prærupto undique sita, quum loco in-  
 pugnabilis erat tum præsidium in arce validum præfec-  
 tumque præsidii haud sane opportunum insidiantibus habebat. L. Pinarius erat, vir acer et qui plus in eo, 3  
 ne posset decipi, quam in fide Siculorum reponeret : et  
 tum intenderant eum ad cavendi omnia curam tot  
 auditæ proditioes defectionesque urbium et clades præ-  
 sidiorum : itaque nocte dieque juxta parata instructaque  
 omnia custodiis ac vigiliis erant neo ab armis aut loco  
 suo miles abscedebat. Quod ubi Hennensium princel- 4  
 pes jam pacti cum Himilcone de proditione præsidii  
 animadverterunt, nulli occasione fraudis Romanum pa-  
 tere, vi rati agendum, urbem arcemque suæ potestatis  
 aiunt debere esse, si libere in societatem non servi in  
 custodiam traditi essent Romanis. Itaque claves arcis 5  
 portarumque reddi sibi æquum censent : bonis sociis  
 fidem suam maximum vinculum esse, et ita sibi populum  
 Romanum senatumque gratias habiturum, si volentes  
 ac non coacti mansissent in amicitia. Ad ea Romanus 6  
 se in præsidio impositum esse dicere ab imperatore suo,  
 clavesque portarum et custodiam arcis ab eo accepisse,  
 quæ nec suo nec Hennensium arbitrio haberet sed ejus

qui commisisset: præsidio decedere apud Romanos capitale esse, et nece liberorum etiam suorum ea parentes sanxisse: consulem Marcellum haud procul esse, ad eum mitterent legatos cujus juris atque arbitrii 7 esset. Se vero negare illi missuros, testarique, si verbis nihil agerent, vindictam aliquam libertatis suæ quæ- 8 situros. Tum Pinarius: at illi, si ad consulem gravarentur mittere, sibi saltem darent populi concilium, ut sciretur, utrum paucorum ea denuntiatio an universæ 9 civitatis esset. Consensum in posterum diem concilium.

- (38) Postquam ab eo colloquio in arcem sese recepit, convocata militum concio: quibus "Credo ego vos audisse, milites," inquit, "quem ad modum præsidia Romana ab Sicilia circumventa et oppressa sint per hos dies. 2 Eam vos fraudem deum primo benignitate, dein vestra ipsi virtute dies noctesque perstando ac pervigilando 3 in armis vitastis. Utinam reliquum tempus nec patiundo infanda nec faciendo traduci posset! hæc occulta in fraude cautio est, qua usi adhuc sumus: cui quoniam parum succedit, aperte ac propalam claves portarum reposcunt: quas simul tradiderimus, Carthaginiensium extemplo Henna erit, fœdusque hic trucidabimur quam 4 Murgantiæ præsidium interfectum est. Noctem unam ægre ad consultandum sumpsi, qua vos certiores periculi instantis facerem: orta luce concionem habituri sunt ad criminandum me concitandumque in vos populum. 5 Itaque crastino die aut vestro aut Hennensium sanguine Henna inundabitur. Nec præoccupati spem ullam nec occupantes periculi quicquam habebitis: qui prior 7 strinxerit ferrum, ejus victoria erit. Intenti ergo omnes armatique signum expectabitis: ego in concione ero et tempus, quoad omnia instructa sint, loquendo alter- 8 candoque traham. Quum toga signum dederò, tum

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mihi undique clamore sublato turbam invadite ac sternite omnia ferro, et cavete quicquam supersit, cujus aut vis aut fraus timeri possit. Vos, Ceres mater ac Proserpina, precor, cæteri superi infernique dî, qui hanc urbem hos sacratos lacus lucosque colitis, ut ita nobis volentes propitiique adsitis, si vitandæ non ferendæ fraudis causa hoc consilii capimus. Pluribus vos, milites, hortarer, si cum armatis dimicatio futura esset: inermes incautos ad satietatem trucidabitis: et consulis castra in propinquo sunt, ne quid ab Himilcone et Carthaginensibus timeri possit.” Ab hac adhortatione (39) dimissi corpora curant. Postero die alii aliis locis ad obsidenda itinera claudendosque oppositi sunt exitus, pars maxima super theatrum circaque—adsueti et ante spectaculo concionum—consistent. Productus ad populum a magistratibus præfectus Romanus quum consulis de ea re jus ac potestatem esse non suam et pleraque eadem quæ pridie dixisset, et primo sensim ac plures reddere claves, dein jam una voce id omnes juberent, cunctantique et differenti ferociter minitarentur nec viderentur ultra vim ultimam dilaturi, tum præfectus toga signum, ut convenerat, dedit, militesque intenti dudum ac parati alii superne in aversam concionem clamore sublato decurrunt, alii ad exitus theatri conferti obsistunt. Cæduntur Hennenses cavea inclusi coacervanturque non cæde solum sed etiam fuga, quum alii super aliorum capita ruerent, integris saucii, vivi mortuis incidentes cumularentur. Inde passim discurritur et urbis captæ modo fugaque et cædes omnia tenet, nihilo remissiore militum ira, quod turbam inermem cædebant, quam si periculum par et ardor certaminis eos irritaret. Ita Henna aut malo aut necessario facinore retenta.

- 6 Marcellus nec factum improbavit et prædam Hennensium militibus concessit, ratus timore fore deterritos  
 7 a prodicionibus præsidiorum Siculos. Atque ea clades ut urbis in media Sicilia sitæ claræque vel ob insignem munimento naturali locum vel ob sacrata omnia vestigiis raptæ quondam Proserpinæ prope uno die omnem Siciliam pervasit: et, quia cæde infanda rebantur non hominum tantum sed etiam deorum sedem violatam esse, tum vero qui etiam ante dubii fuerant defecere ad  
 8 Pœnos. Hippocrates inde Murgantiam, Himilco Agri- gentum sese recepit, quum acciti a proditoribus ne-  
 9 ququam ad Hennam exercitum admovissent. Marcellus retro in Leontinos redit, frumentoque et commeatibus aliis in castra convectis præsidio modico ibi relicto ad  
 10 Syracusas obsidendas venit. Inde Appio Claudio Romanam ad consulatum petendum misso T. Quinctium Crispinum in ejus locum classi castrisque præficit veteribus: ipse hibernacula quinque millia passuum Hexapylo—Leonta vocant locum—communiit ædificavitque.  
 11 Hæc in Sicilia usque ad principium hiemis gesta.  
 (40) 2 Eadem æstate et cum Philippo rege, quod jam ante suspectum fuerat, motum bellum est. Legati ab Orico ad M. Valerium prætorem venerunt præidentem classi Brundisio Calabriæque circa litoribus, nuntiantes Philippum primum Apolloniam temptasse lembis biremibus centum viginti flumine adverso subvectum: deinde, ut ea res tardior spe fuerit, ad Oricum clam nocte exercitum admovisse, eamque urbem sitam in plano neque mœnibus neque viris atque armis validam primo  
 3 impetu oppressam esse. Hæc nuntiantes orabant, ut opem ferret hostemque haud dubium Romanis mari ac terra a maritimis urbibus arceret, quæ ob nullam  
 4 iam causam nisi quod imminerent Italiæ peterentur.

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M. Valerius, relicto duorum millium præsidio præpositoque eis P. Valerio legato, cum classe instructa parataque et, quod longæ naves militum capere non poterant, in onerarias impositis altero die Oricum pervenit, urbemque eam levi tenente præsidio, quod rex recedens inde reliquerat, haud magno certamine recepit. Legati 5 eo ab Apollonia venerunt nuntiantes in obsidione sese, quod deficere ab Romanis nollent, esse, neque sustinere ultra vim Macedonum posse nisi præsidium mittatur Romanum. Facturum se quæ vellent pollicitus, duo 6 millia delectorum militum navibus longis mittit ad ostium fluminis cum præfecto socium Q. Nævio Crista, viro impigro et perito militiæ. Is expositis in ter- 7 ram militibus navibusque Oricum retro, unde venerat, ad cæteram classem remissis milites procul a flumine per viam minime ab regiis obsessam duxit, et nocte ita ut nemo hostium sentiret urbem est ingressus. Diem insequentem quievit, dum præfectus juventutem 8 Apolloniatis armaque et urbis vires inspiceret. Ubi 9 ea visa inspectaque satis animorum fecere, simulque ab exploratoribus comperit, quanta socordia ac negligentia apud hostes esset, silentio noctis ab urbe sine ullo tumultu egressus castra hostium adeo neglecta atque aperta intravit, ut satis constaret prius mille hominum vallum intrasse quam quisquam sentiret, ac, si cæde abstinuissent, pervenire ad tabernaculum regium potuisse. Cædes proximorum portæ excitavit 10 hostes: inde tantus terror pavorque omnes occupavit, ut non modo alius quisquam arma caperet aut castris pellere hostem conaretur, sed etiam ipse rex, sicut somno excitus erat prope seminudus fugiens militi quoque nedum regi vix decoro habitu, ad flumen navesque perfugerit. Eodem et alia turba effusa est. Paulo 11



minus tria millia militum in castris aut capta aut occisa: plus tamen hominum aliquanto captum quam

12 cæsum est. Castris direptis Apolloniæ catapultas balistas tormenta que alia, quæ oppugnandæ urbi comparata erant, ad tuenda mœnia, si quando similis fortuna venisset, Apolloniam devexere, cætera omnis præda

13 castrorum Romanis concessa est. Hæc quum Oricum essent nuntiata, M. Valerius classem extemplo ad ostium fluminis duxit, ne navibus capessere fugam rex posset.

14 Itaque Philippus, neque terrestri neque navali certamini satis fore parem se fidens, subductis navibus atque incensis terra Macedoniam petit magna ex parte inermi

15 exercitu spoliatoque. Romana classis cum M. Valerio Orici hibernavit.

- (41) Eodem anno in Hispania varie res gestæ. Nam prius quam Romani amnem Hiberum transirent, ingentes copias Hispanorum Mago et Hasdrubal fuderunt: defecissetque ab Romanis ulterior Hispania, ni P. Cornelius raptim traducto exercitu Hiberum dubiis
- 2 sociorum animis in tempore advenisset. Primo ad Castrum Album—locus est insignis cæde magni Hamil-
- 3 caris—castra Romani habuere. Arx erat munita et convexerant ante frumentum: tamen, quia omnia circa hostium plena erant, agmenque Romanum impune incursatum ab equitibus hostium fuerat et ad duo millia aut moratorum aut palantium per agros interfecta, cessere inde Romani propius pacata loca et ad mon-
- 4 tem Victoriæ castra communivere. Eo Cn. Scipio cum omnibus copiis et Hasdrubal Gisgonis filius, tertius Carthaginensium dux, cum exercitu justo advenit, contraque castra Romana trans fluvium omnes consedere.
- 5 P. Scipio cum expeditis clam profectus ad loca circa visenda haud fefellit hostes, oppressissentque eum in

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patentibus campis, ni tumulum in propinquo cepisset.  
 Ibi quoque circumsessus adventu fratris obsidione exi-  
 mitur. Castulo urbs Hispaniæ valida ac nobilis, et 6  
 adeo conjuncta societate Pœnis ut uxor inde Hannibali  
 esset, ad Romanos defecit. Carthaginienses Iliturgim 7  
 oppugnare adorti, quia præsidium ibi Romanum erat,  
 videbanturque inopia maxime eum locum expugnaturi.  
 Cn. Scipio, ut sociis præsidioque ferret opem, cum 8  
 legione expedita profectus inter bina castra cum magna  
 cæde hostium urbem est ingressus et postero die erup-  
 tione æque felici pugnavit. Supra duodecim millia 9  
 hominum cæsa duobus præliis, plus mille hominum  
 captum cum sex et triginta militaribus signis. Ita 10  
 ab Iliturgi recessum est. Bigerra inde urbs—socio et 11  
 hæc Romanorum erat—a Carthaginiensibus oppugnari  
 cœpta est. Eam obsidionem sine certamine adveniens 12  
 Cn. Scipio solvit. Ad Mundam exinde castra Punica (42)  
 mota et Romani eo confestim sequuti sunt. Ibi signis 2  
 collatis pugnatum per quattuor ferme horas, egregieque  
 vincentibus Romanis signum receptui est datum, quod  
 Cn. Scipionis femur tragula confixum erat, pavorque  
 circa eum ceperat milites ne mortiferum esset vulnus.  
 Cæterum haud dubium fuit quin, nisi ea mora inter- 3  
 venisset, castra eo die Punica capi potuerint: jam non  
 milites solum sed elephantum etiam usque ad vallum acti  
 erant, superque ipsum novem et triginta elephantum pilis  
 confixi. Hoc quoque prælio ad duodecim millia homi- 4  
 num dicuntur cæsa, prope tria capta cum signis mili-  
 taribus septem et quinquaginta. Ad Auringem inde 5  
 urbem Pœni recessere, et, ut territis instaret, sequutus  
 Romanus. Ibi iterum Scipio lecticula in aciem illatus 6  
 confligit: nec dubia victoria fuit: minus tamen dimidio  
 hostium quam antea, quia pauciores superfuerant qui

7 pugnarent, occisum. Sed gens nata instaurandis repa-  
 randisque bellis, Magone ad conquisitionem militum a  
 fratre misso, brevi replevit exercitum animosque ad  
 temptandum de integro certamen fecit: alii plerique  
 milites, si quidem pro parte totiens intra paucos dies  
 victa, isdem animis quibus priores eodemque eventu  
 pugnare: plus octo millia hominum cæsa et haud  
 multo minus quam mille captum et signa militaria  
 quinquaginta octo: et spolia plurima Gallica fuere,  
 8 aurei torques armillæque magnus numerus. Duo etiam  
 insignes reguli Gallorum—Mœnicapto et Vismaro no-  
 9 mina erant—eo prælio ceciderunt. Octo elephanti  
 10 capti, tres occisi. Quum jam prosperæ res in His-  
 pania essent, verecundia Romanos tandem cepit, Sa-  
 guntum oppidum, quæ causa belli esset, octavum jam  
 11 annum sub hostium potestate esse. Itaque id oppidum  
 vi pulso præsidio Punico receperunt, cultoribusque  
 antiquis, quos ex iis vis reliquerat belli, restituerunt, et  
 Turdetanos, qui contraxerant eis cum Carthaginiensibus  
 bellum, in potestatem redactos sub corona vendiderunt  
 urbemque eorum delerunt.

- (43) Hæc in Hispania Q. Fabio M. Claudio consulibus  
 2 agesta. Romæ quum tribuni plebis novi magistratum  
 inissent, extemplo censoribus P. Furio et M. Atilio a  
 Metello tribuno plebis dies dicta ad populum est.  
 3 Quæstorem eum proximo anno adempto equo tribu  
 moverant atque ærarium fecerant propter conjuratio-  
 4 nem deserendæ Italiæ ad Cannas factam. Sed novem  
 tribunorum auxilio vetiti causam in magistratu dicere  
 5 demissique fuerant. Neque lustrum perficerent mors  
 prohibuit P. Furii: M. Atilius magistratu se abdicavit.  
 6 Comitia consularia habita ab Q. Fabio Maximo con-  
 sule: creati consules ambo absentes Q. Fabius Maxi-

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mus consulis filius et Tib. Sempronius Gracchus iterum. Prætores fiunt M. Atilius et, qui tum ædiles curules 7 erant, P. Sempronius Tuditanus et Cn. Fulvius Centumalus et M. Æmilius Lepidus. Ludos scenicos per 8 quadriduum eo anno primum factos ab curulibus ædilibus memoriæ proditur. Ædilis Tuditanus hic erat 9 qui ad Cannas pavore aliis in tanta clade torpentibus per medios hostes evasit. Iis comitiis perfectis auctore 10 Q. Fabio consule designati consules Romam accersiti magistratum inierunt, senatumque de bello ac provinciis suis prætorumque et de exercitibus, quibus quique præessent, consuluerunt. Itaque provinciæ atque ex- (44) ercitus divisi: bellum cum Hannibale consulibus mandatum et exercituum unus, quem ipse Sempronius habuerat, alter, quem Fabius consul: eæ binæ erant legiones: M. Æmilius prætor, cujus peregrina sors erat, jurisdictione M. Atilio collegæ prætori urbano mandata Luceriam provinciam haberet legionesque duas, quibus Q. Fabius, qui tum consul erat, prætor præfuerat: P. Sempronio provincia Ariminum, Cn. Fulvio Suessula cum binis item legionibus evenerunt, ut Fulvius urbanas legiones duceret, Tuditanus a M'. Pomponio acciperet. Prorogata imperia provinciæque, M. Claudio 2 Sicilia finibus eis quibus regnum Hieronis fuisset, Lentulo proprætori provincia vetus, T. Otacilio classis: exercitus nulli additi novi: M. Valerio Græcia Macedoniaque cum legione et classe quam haberet, Q. Mucio cum vetere exercitu—duæ autem legiones erant—Sardinia, C. Terentio cum legione una, cui jam præerat, Picenum. Scribi præter ea duæ urbanæ legiones jussæ et viginti millia sociorum. His ducibus his copiis 3 adversus multa simul aut mota aut suspecta bella muniverunt Romanum imperium.

4 Consules duabus urbanis legionibus scriptis supple-  
 mentoque in alias lecto, priusquam ab urbe moverent,  
 5 prodigia procurârunt quæ nuntiata erant. Murus ac  
 portæ Atellæ et Ariciæ etiam Jovis ædis de cœlo tacta  
 6 fuerant. Et alia ludibria oculorum auriumque credita  
 pro veris: navium longarum species in flumine Tarra-  
 cinæ, quæ nullæ erant, visæ, et in Jovis Vicilini templo,  
 quod in Compsano agro est, arma concrepuisse, et flu-  
 7 men Amiterni cruentum fluxisse. His procuratis ex  
 decreto pontificum profecti consules, Sempronius in  
 Lucanos, in Apuliam Fabius. Pater filio legatus ad  
 8 Suessulam in castra venit. Quum obviam filius pro-  
 grederetur lictoresque verecundia majestatis ejus taciti  
 anteirent, præter undecim fascēs equo prævectus senex,  
 ut consul animadvertere proximum lictorem jussit et  
 ut is descenderet ex equo, inclamavit, tum demum  
 desiliens "Experiri" inquit "volui, fili, satini scires  
 consulem te esse."

(45) In ea castra Dasius Altinius Arpinus clam nocte cum  
 tribus servis venit promittens, si sibi præmio foret, se  
 2 Arpos proditorem esse. Eam rem ad consilium quum  
 rettulisset Fabius, aliis pro transfuga verberandus ne-  
 candusque videri ancipitis animi communis hostis, qui  
 post Cannensem cladem, tamquam cum fortuna fidem  
 stare oporteret, ad Hannibalem descisset traxissetque  
 ad defectionem Arpos, tum, quoniam res Romana con-  
 tra spem votaue ejus velut resurgeret, turpius videatur  
 novam referre proditionem proditis olim: qui vir ali-  
 unde stet semper, aliunde sentiat, infidus sociis, vanus  
 hostibus: ad Faleriorum Pyrrhive proditorem tertium  
 3 transfugis documentum esse. Contra ea consulis pater  
 Fabius temporum oblitos homines in medio ardore belli  
 tamquam in pace libera de quoque arbitria agere aiebat,

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et qui, quum illud potius agendum atque cogitandum sit, si quo modo fieri possit, ne qui socii a populo Romano desciscant, id non cogitent, documentum autem dicant statui oportere, si quis resipiscat et antiquam societatem respiciat. Quod si abire ab Romanis liceat, 4 redire ad eos non liceat, cui dubium esse, quin brevi desiderata ab sociis Romana res foederibus Punicis omnia in Italia juncta visura sit? se tamen non eum esse, qui Altinio fidei quicquam censeat habendum: sed mediam consequenturum consilii viam: neque pro hoste neque pro socio in praesentia habitum libera custodia haud procul a castris placere in aliqua fida civitate eum servari per belli tempus: perpetrato bello tum consultandum, utrum prior defectio plus merita sit poenae an hic reditus veniae. Fabio adsensum est 5 catenisque ligatus traditus et ipse et comites: et auri satis magnum pondus, quod secum tum adtulerat, ei servari iussum: Calibus eum interdiu solutum custodes sequebantur, nocte clausum adservabant. Arpis 6 domi primum desiderari quærique est coeptus: dein fama per totam urbem vulgata tumultum ut principe amisso fecit, metuque rerum novarum extemplo nuntii missi. Quibus nequaquam offensus Poenus, quia et 7 ipsum ut ambiguae fidei virum suspectum jam pridem habebat, et causam nactus erat tam ditis hominis bona possidendi vendendique: cæterum ut iræ magis quam avaritiæ datum crederent homines, crudelitatem quoque gravitati addidit conjugemque ejus ac liberos in castra accitos, quæstione prius habita et primum de fuga Altinii, dein quantum auri argentique domi relictum esset, satis cognitis omnibus vivos combussit.

Fabius ab Suessula profectus Arpos primum insti- (46)  
tit oppugnare. Ubi quum a quingentis fere passibus 2

castra posuisset, contemplatus ex propinquo situm urbis  
 mœniaque, quæ pars tutissima mœnibus erat—quia  
 maxime neglectam custodia vidit—ea potissimum ad-  
 3 gredi statuit. Comparatis omnibus, quæ ad urbes  
 oppugnandas usui sunt, centurionum robora ex toto  
 exercitu delegit tribunosque viros fortes eis præfecit et  
 milites sexcentos, quantum satis visum est, adtribuit,  
 eosque, ubi quartæ vigiliæ signum cecinisset, ad eum  
 4 locum scalas jussit ferre. Porta ibi humilis et angusta  
 erat infrequenti via per desertam partem urbis: eam  
 portam scalis prius transgressos murum aperire ex  
 interiore parte aut claustra refringere jubet, et tenentes  
 partem urbis cornu signum dare ut cæteræ copiæ ad-  
 moverentur: parata omnia atque instructa sese habi-  
 5 turum. Ea impigre facta, et, quod impedimentum  
 agentibus fore videbatur, id maxime ad fallendum ad-  
 juvit: imber ab nocte media coortus custodes vigiles-  
 que delapsos e stationibus subfugere in tecta coegit,  
 sonituque primo largioris procellæ strepitum molientium  
 portam exaudiri prohibuit, lentior deinde æqualiorque  
 accedens auribus magnam partem hominum sopivit.  
 6 Postquam portam tenebant, cornicines in via paribus  
 intervallis dispositos canere jubent ut consulem exci-  
 7 rent. Id ubi factum ex composito est, signa efferri  
 consul jubet ac paulo ante lucem per effractam portam  
 (47) urbem ingreditur. Tum demum hostes excitati sunt  
 2 jam et imbre conquiescente et propinqua luce. Præ-  
 sidium in urbe erat Hannibalis quinque millia ferme  
 armatorum, et ipsi Arpini tria millia hominum arma-  
 bant: eos primos Pœni, ne quid ab tergo fraudis esset,  
 3 hosti opposuerunt. Pugnatum primo in tenebris an-  
 4 gustisque vils est. Quum Romani non vias tantum  
 sed tecta etiam proxima portæ occupassent, ne peti

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superne ac vulnerari possent, cogniti inter se quidam Arpinique et Romani atque inde colloquia cœpta fieri, percunctantibus Romanis, quid sibi vellent Arpini, quam ob noxam Romanorum, quod aut meritum Pœnorum pro alienigenis ac barbaris Italici adversus veteres socios Romanos bellum gererent, et vectigalem ac stipendiariam Italiam Africæ facerent: Arpinis purgantibus ignaros omnium se venum a principibus datos Pœno, captos oppressosque a paucis esse. Initio orto 5 plures cum pluribus colloqui: postremo prætor Arpinus ab suis ad consulem deductus, fideque data inter signa aciesque Arpini repente pro Romanis adversus Carthaginensium arma se verterunt. Hispani quoque, paulo 6 minus mille homines, nihil præter ea cum consule pacti quam ut sine fraude Punicum emitteretur præsidium, ad consulem transtulerunt signa. Carthaginensibus 7 portæ patefactæ emissique cum fide incolumes ad Hannibalem Salapiam venerunt. Arpi sine clade ullius 8 præterquam unius veteris proditoris, novi perfugæ, restituti ad Romanos. Hispanis duplicia cibaria dari 9 jussa, operaque eorum forti ac fideli persæpe res publica usa est.

Quum consul alter in Apulia alter in Lucanis esset, 10 equites centum duodecim nobiles Campani per speciem prædandi ex hostium agro permissu magistratuum ab Capua profecti ad castra Romana, quæ super Suessulam erant, venerunt, stationi militum qui essent dixerunt, colloqui sese cum prætore velle. Cn. Fulvius castris 11 præerat: cui ubi nuntiatum est, decem ex eo numero jussis inermibus deduci ad se, ubi quæ postularent audivit—nihil autem aliud petebant quam ut Capua recepta bona sibi restituerentur—, in fidem omnes accepti. Et ab altero prætore Sempronio Tuditano 12



oppidum Atrinum expugnatum: amplius sex millia hominum capta et æris argentique signati aliquantum.

13 Romæ fœdum incendium per duas noctes ac diem unum tenuit: solo æquata omnia inter Salinas ac portam Carmentalem cum Æquimælio Jugarioque vico: in templis Fortunæ ac matris Matutæ et Spei extra portam late vagatus ignis sacra profanaque multa absumpsit.

(48) Eodem anno P. et Cn. Cornelii, quum in Hispania res prosperæ essent multosque et veteres reciperent socios et novos adjicerent, in Africam quoque spem 2 extenderunt. Syphax erat rex Numidarum, subito Carthaginensibus hostis factus: ad eum centuriones tres legatos miserunt, qui cum eo amicitiam societatemque facerent et pollicerentur, si perseveraret urgere bello Carthaginenses, gratam eam rem fore senatui populoque Romano, et adnisiuros ut in tempore et bene 3 cumulatam gratiam referant. Grata ea legatio barbaro fuit, colloquutusque cum legatis de ratione belli gerundi, ut veterum militum verba audivit, quam multarum rerum ipse ignarus esset, ex comparatione tam 4 ordinate disciplinæ animum advertit. Tum primum ut pro bonis ac fidelibus sociis facerent oravit, ut duo legationem referrent ad imperatores suos, unus apud sese magister rei militaris retineretur: rudem ad pedestria bella Numidarum gentem esse, equis tantum habilem: ita jam inde a principiis gentis majores suos 5 bella gessisse, ita se a pueris insuetos. Sed habere hostem pedestri fidentem Marte, cui si æquari robore 6 virium velit, et sibi pedites comparandos esse. Et ad id multitudine hominum regnum abundare, sed armandi ornandique et instruendi eos artem ignorare: omnia velut forte congregata turba sua vasta ac temeraria 7 esse. Facturos se in præsentia quod vellet legati re-

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spondent, fide accepta ut remitteret extemplo eum, si imperatores sui non comprobassent factum. Q. Statorio nomen fuit qui ad regem remansit. Cum duobus Romanis rex tres Numidas legatos in Hispaniam misit ad accipiendam fidem ab imperatoribus Romanis: isdem mandavit ut protinus Numidas, qui intra præsidia Carthaginiensium auxiliares essent, ad transitionem perlicerent. Et Statorius ex multa juventute regi pedites conscripsit, ordinatosque proxime morem Romanum instruendo et decurrendo signa sequi et servare ordines docuit, et operi aliisque justis militaribus ita adsuefecit, ut brevi rex non equiti magis fideret quam pediti, collatisque æquo campo signis justo prælio Carthaginiensem hostem superaret. Romanis quoque in Hispania legatorum regis adventus magno emolumento fuit: namque ad famam eorum transitiones crebræ ab Numidis coeptæ fieri. Ita cum Syphace Romanis coepta amicitia est.

Quod ubi Carthaginienses acceperunt, extemplo ad Galam in parte altera Numidiæ—Mæsuli ea gens vocatur—regnantem legatos mittunt. Filium Gala Mæsiniensem habebat septemdecem annos natum, cæterum juvenem ea indole, ut jam tum appareret majus regnum opulentiusque quam quod accepisset facturum. Legati, quoniam Syphax se Romanis junxisset ut potentior societate eorum adversus reges populosque Africæ esset, docent melius fore Galæ quoque Carthaginiensibus jungi quam primum: antequam Syphax in Hispaniam aut Romani in Africam transeant, opprimi Syphacem nihil dum præter nomen ex fœdere Romano habentem posse. Facile persuasum Galæ—filio deposcente id bellum—ut mitteret exercitum, qui Carthaginiensibus legionibus conjunctus magno prælio Syphacem devicit. Triginta

- millia eo proelio hominum cæsa dicuntur: Syphax cum paucis equitibus in Maurusios ex acie Numidas—extremi prope Oceanum adversus Gades colunt—refugit, adfluentibusque ad famam ejus undique barbaris ingentes  
5 brevi copias armavit. Cum quibus priusquam in Hispaniam angusto diremptam freto trajiceret, Masinissa cum victore exercitu advenit, isque ibi cum Syphace ingenti gloria per se sine ullis Carthaginensium opibus gessit bellum.
- 6 In Hispania nihil memorabile gestum præterquam quod Celtiberâm juventutem eadem mercede, qua pacta cum Carthaginensibus erat, imperatores Romani ad se perduxerunt, et nobilissimos Hispanos supra trecentos in Italiam ad sollicitandos populares, qui inter auxilia  
7 Hannibalis erant, miserunt. Id modo ejus anni in Hispania ad memoriam insigne est, quod mercenarium militem in castris neminem ante quam tum Celtiberos Romani habuerunt.

# NOTES TO LIVY.



(The numbers prefixed to the notes correspond to the sections of the text.)

## BOOK XXI.

I. 1. *Summæ totius*, opposed to *in parte*.

2. a. *conserebant*, "brought into conflict."

b. *ut propius periculum fuerint qui vicerunt*. Rome ultimately prevailed in the contest, but when, after Cannæ, Hannibal shrunk from marching upon the city, Livy says, "*mora ejus diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio*," (B. xxii. 51). But Hannibal knew best his own and his adversaries' strength.

c. *Superbe avaræque crederent imperitatum*. *superbè*, e. g. when the Romans interfered to prevent the reduction of Sardinia, which had revolted from Carthage; see note 3, chap. xvi.—*avarè*, for they had insisted upon the payment of 3,200 talents in ten years, instead of 2,200 in twenty years, as had been first stipulated; and when Sardinia was ceded, had exacted 1,200 talents more, as a compensation for injuries alleged to have been sustained by Roman merchants.

3. a. *annorum novem*. Hamilcar went to Spain in B.C. 238, so that Hannibal must have been born B.C. 247.

b. *blandientem*, "coaxing."

c. *Africo bello*. The mercenary war, called, from the cruelties perpetrated in it, the *ἀσπονδος πόλεμος*, (Pol. i. 65).

It arose on the evacuation of Sicily by the Carthaginians, when the whole of the disbanded soldiery were assembled at Sicca, in the neighbourhood of Carthage, discontented at the delay of the government in discharging their arrears of pay. Polyb. i. 67.

d. *jurejurando adactum*. There is no reason to doubt the historical truth of this circumstance. Hannibal himself, when an exile many years after, related it to Antiochus, king of Syria. Polyb. iii. 11.

4. a. *Sicilia, Sardiniaque amissæ*. The evacuation of Sicily was one of the conditions of the treaty which concluded the first Punic war, (B.C. 241). Sardinia was lost to Carthage about four years after, when the mercenary troops in that island mutinied, slew Bostar, their commandant, and demanded and obtained the protection of Rome.

b. *stipendio insuper imposito*. Vid. sup., § 2. note c.

c. *interceptam*, a word which denotes the stealthy and unfair nature of the transaction.

II. 1. a. *per quinque annos*. The actual war in Africa lasted three years and four months. Polyb. i. 88

b. *novem annis*. Hamilcar crossed into Spain in B.C. 238. He fell in battle with the Vettones, a people of Lusitania, between the Tagus and Guadiana, B.C. 229, at Castrum Altum, (B. xxiv. 41). Hannibal was present in the battle.

3. *factionis Barcinæ*, the popular party at Carthage, so called from the family of Barca, of which Hamilcar was chief. Barca is said to mean "lightning."

4. a. *per amicitiam principum*, "by means of private friendship with their chiefs."

b. *rem Carthaginiensem auxit*. One of Hasdrubal's chief works was the foundation of New Carthage (Carthago) as a capital for the territory acquired by the successes of

Hamilcar and himself in Spain. It was near the south-east extremity of Hispania Tarraconensis. Polybius, who describes the position of the city, intimates that it was built not without a view to its becoming the capital of an independent kingdom, (x. 10). It was taken by P. Scipio B.C. 210. c. *obtruncat.* B.C. 221.

6. a. *foedus renovaverat.* B.C. 228. By this treaty the Ebro was to be the northern boundary of the Carthaginian empire in Spain. In the time of Hasdrubal it never reached so far. Hannibal extended it greatly, so that at the breaking out of the war all Spain south of the Ebro and Douro was Carthaginian.

b. *mediis inter imperia.* Saguntum (Σάγυνθα, Polyb.) was about half-way between the Ebro and Carthago Nova, on the coast of modern Valencia. Its site is marked by the present town of Murviedro, (*muri veteres*). Livy says (ch. vii.) that it was founded by a colony from Zacynthus, the only ground for which assertion was probably the similarity of name.

III. 1. *prærogativam militarem*, "the choice of the soldiery;" an expression borrowed from the mode of election at Rome. The tribe which first voted was called *prærogativa tribus*, and their choice was a kind of omen of the result. Here the soldiers, without waiting for the appointment from Carthage, at once decided the matter by their unanimous choice of Hannibal.

2. *viridum puberem*, i.e. at the time of Hasdrubal's inviting him to join him. Hannibal could not have been less than eighteen years old when Hasdrubal took the command, and he must have been twenty-three years old at least when he complied with Hasdrubal's summons, (for he served the last three years of Hasdrubal's eight years of command with him, compare ii. § 8, and iv. § 10);

so that *visum puberem* must be understood with some latitude. Livy's account is inconsistent. He evidently means to represent Hannibal as sent at Hasdrubal's request from Carthage, whereas Hannibal says (see B. xxx. 35, 37,) that he had not been at home since he was nine years old.

3. *fruendum*, passive, "to be enjoyed." So again, B. xxii. 14. 2.

4. a. *speciem*, "display," "magnificence."

b. *cujus regis genero*, &c. The order is, *et ne parum maturè serviamus filio ejus (regis) cujus regis genero exercitus nostri relictī sint hereditarii*.

IV. 2. *minimum momentum...esset*, "was one of the least motives that contributed to win for him popularity."

6. *id quod gerendis*, &c., "such time only as remained after the discharge of business."

9. *inhumana crudelitas*. Vid. ch. 57, ad fin. But it may be doubted whether any instances can be found justifying Livy's charge of either cruelty or perfidy. Polybius mentions the most remarkable gift of Hannibal—his power of influencing others. Africans, Spaniards, Gauls, and Italians, each looked upon him as one of their own native chiefs; and there did not once, in all the hardships of sixteen campaigns, occur an instance of mutiny in his camp. Livy has well noticed this B. xxviii. 12: "*Nescio an mirabilior adversis quam secundis rebus fuerit: quippe qui quum et in hostium terra per annos tredecim, tam procul ab domo, varia fortuna bellum gereret exercitu non suo civili, sed mixto ex conlutione omnium gentium, quibus non lex, non mos, non lingua communis; alius habitus, alia vestis, alia arma, alii ritus, alia sacra, alii prope dii essent; ita quodam uno vinculo copulaverit eos, ut nulla nec inter ipsos nec adversus ducem seditio exstiterit, quum et pecunia sæpe in stipendium et commeatus in hostium*"

agro deessent, quorum inopia priore Punico bello multa infanda inter duces militesque commissa fuerant."

V. Compare with this chapter the account of Polybius, iii. 13, 14.

2. a. *Quibus...quia...movebantur*, "and because in attacking them he was, *ipso facto*, setting the Romans in motion," &c.

b. *Olcadum*, a people of Hispania Bœtica, on the *Anas* (*Guadiana*). Their chief town was Carteia, according to Livy; according to Polybius, Althæa.

c. *in parte magis...Carthaginiensium*. With reference to the condition, "ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Iberus," (ch. 2, ad fin.) These Olcades were on the Carthaginian side of the Ebro, though only nominally under Carthaginian sway.

d. *Cartalam*, al. *Carteiam*. The site of Carteia has been much disputed; most probably it was on the bay of Algesiras, a few miles west of Gibraltar. Cartala is unknown.

4. a. *stipendio præterito*, "arrears of pay."

b. *Vaccæos*, a people of Hisp. Tarraconensis.

5. a. *Hermandica* (Ἑλμαντική, Polyb.), or Salmantica (*Salamanca*), on the Tormes, one of the south tributaries of the Durus (*Douro*).

b. *Arbocala*, or Arbucella (Ἀρβουκαλή), the chief city of the Vaccæi.

c. *Carpentanos*: the same as the Carpesii (B. xxiii. 26); a powerful people in the centre of the peninsula, occupying the valley of the upper Tagus. Their chief city was Toletum (*Toledo*).

6. *vallo ita producto*. The *vallum* was the line of defence, variously formed according to circumstances, around or in front of the camp. Hannibal having himself crossed



the river, withdrew a little way from the bank, in order to tempt the enemy to try the passage.

8. *appendicibus*, "auxiliary troops."

9. *id morari...amnis*, "thinking that the river between was the only bar to victory."

10. a. *ex parte altera*, the side on which Hannibal was.

b. *quippe ubi...gereret* explains *haudquaquam pari certamine*.

11. *agmine quadrato*. Cf. Inf. lvii. "in battle array." *agmen quadratum* is a battalion marching, not in square, but in line of battle, in the form of a parallelogram.

VI. 1. *Turdetanis*. The principal people of Hispania Bœtica. Their land extended from Lusitania to the Singulis (*Xenil*).

3. a. *Consules...P. O. Scipio et Ti. Semp. Longus*. This is wrong; Scipio and Sempronius were consuls in the year B.C. 218, after the fall of Saguntum.

b. *qui quum...retulissent*. The protasis is repeated in *hæc legatione missa*, and the answering clause is *omniem spe...allatum est*.

c. *quibus si videretur...denuntiarent* = "qui, si eis videretur, denuntiarent."—*denuntiarent*, "warn," implying a penalty.

d. *trajicerent*; *intrans*. "cross."

e. *deferrent*, "lay" before the Carthaginian senate.

4. *intendebant*, "were for directing."

5. a. *P. Valerius Flaccus*. Mentioned again, xxiii. 16, as commanding under Marcellus in a sally from Nola; and in xxiii. 34 as in command of the fleet which intercepted the letters from Hannibal to Philip. See also xxvi. 8. Q. Bæbius Tamphilus was sent again in the next year with Q. Fabius to Carthage, Inf. ch. 18.

*h. si non absisteretur bello depends upon inde...Carthaginem.* If Hannibal would not desist, they were to go on to Carthage.

VII. 2. *a. ultra Iberum*, on the south side of the Ebro.

*b. Oriundi...dicuntur*, "they (the Saguntines) are said to have come originally from Zacynthus." So Strabo; see note, ii. 6. *b.* They were probably of Tyrrhenian origin. *Zacynthus*, the modern Zante.

*c. tantas*, "power so great as they now possessed." The relative clause is implied.

4. *a. vergens*, "abutting."

*b. vineas.* A kind of roof or shelter, under cover of which (*per quas*) the ram or other engine was worked. The word properly means a bower formed from the branches of vines. Sometimes it was lightly constructed, so that it might be carried by soldiers; at other times it had to be moved up (*agē*) on wheels.

5. *supra ceteræ modum altitudinis*, "to a greater height than the rest of the wall;" lit., "beyond the measure of the rest of the height."

6. *submovere.* Historical infin. "They," i.e. the defenders of the wall, "tried to dislodge." *munientibus*, the Carthaginians employed in making way for the *vineæ*.

7. *adversum femur*, "on the thigh." *tragula*, (*trans-ago*), a kind of lance or javelin, probably barbed.

VIII. 4. *distineri cœpti sunt*, opposed to *abundabat*,

5. *Una*, i.e. *quassata pars*.—*continentibus ruinis*, "a wide breach," occasioned by the fall of three towers in succession (*deinceps*), and the intervening spaces of wall (*quantum muri inter eas erat*).

7. *per occasionem partis alterius*, "as one side or the other finds opportunity."

8. *mœnibus*; abl. gov. by *nudata*,

9. *vano*, "without effect."

12. *Sed id maxime*, &c. This weapon was long enough to transfix arms, body, and all, but even if it pierced no farther than the shield, it always caused great terror, from this circumstance (*id*), that (*quod*), &c. *conceptum*, "caused" or "gathered." *majorem*, greater than before it was discharged.

IX. 4. *ne quid...posset*, "that the other side might not be able to exercise any influence in favour of the Romans."

X. Hanno's speech. He condemns the Carthaginian policy in sending Hannibal into Spain. The attack on Saguntum, the dismissal of the Roman ambassadors unheard, were against all right. He would have them be warned by the disasters of the last war, and make timely reparation by recalling their forces from Saguntum, and giving up Hannibal for the Romans to deal with as they pleased.

2. *Hanno*. Surnamed the "Great," though it is hard to see why. As the head of the aristocratic party at Carthage he was the constant rival and adversary of Hamilcar Barca. His success in war was very insignificant; in council he appears to have had considerable weight. We find him again (xxiii. 12, 13) depreciating the importance of the victory of Cannæ.

3. a. *Juvenem...misistis*. The construction passes from oblique to direct. Down to *fœdera* Hanno's speech is reported; afterwards he is supposed to be present, speaking.

b. *id*, sc. *regnum*.

6. a. *hi tamen, unde*. *unde*, "from whose presence;" the antecedent is *hi*.

b. *ne hostium quidem legati*. The Romans were not yet *hostes*, and yet Hannibal had refused them a hearing. They would have granted audience to an embassy even after a declaration of war.

7. *publica fraus absit*, "let it be granted that we have not

authorized the wrong;" or, as a concession on the Roman side, "they are willing to think that we have not," &c.

9. *Ægates insulas*. Three small islands off the western extremity of Sicily, nearly opposite Lilybæum. They are famous for the victory of Lutatius Catulus over the Carthaginian fleet at the close of the first Punic war, B.C. 241.

*Eryx*, a city on the mountain of the same name. It was famous for its occupation by Hamilcar in the first Punic war. The victory of Lutatius obliged him to abandon it.

10. *Tarento*. Tarentum was besieged by the Romans after the withdrawal of Pyrrhus from Italy, and at last taken by Papirius the Consul, B.C. 272. While the siege was going on the Carthaginians sent a fleet to help the Tarentines, but it arrived too late.

11. a. *et id...dedit*. And the question (*id de quo verbis ambigebatur*), who had broken the treaty? was settled by the issue of the war, which, like a just judge, decided in favour of that party (*ei victoriam dedit*) which had right on its side (*unde jus stabat*). The antecedent to *unde* is *ei*.

b. *Carthagini...Carthaginis*. Both with emphasis; "It is against Carthage that Hannibal," &c. "It is the walls of Carthage that he is battering."

12. *paternas inimicitias*, "my hostility to his father."

XI. 4. *pro concione*, "publicly."

7. a. *catapultis balistisque*. The catapult was used for throwing darts, the balista for stones.

b. *nudasset*, "cleared."

c. *cum dolabris*. The *dolabra* was a sort of chisel-shaped instrument, probably made with a socket, so as to contain a wooden haft. The use must have been much the same as that of our crow-bar.

8. a. *cæmenta*, (*cædo*), the "stones" with which the wall was built, rough, as they had been hewn out of the quarry. *culæ*, "lime."

b. *latus quam cederetur*. The subjunctive is to be explained by the implication of *quod*. "The breach extended wider than the parts on which the blows fell."

10. a. *a nondum capta urbis parte*. *a parte*, "opposite," "in front of."

b. *interiora tuendo*; lit., "by defending the inner parts," i. e. by making lines within lines of fortification.

11. *hostium essent*, "were in the hands of the enemy," possessive genitive.

12. a. *Oretanos*. A people in the south of Hisp. Tarraconensis, extending from Carthago Nova to the northern bend of the Anas. Their chief town was Castulo. *Carpentanos*; sup., ch. v. § 5.

b. *conquisitoribus*, "recruiting officers." When there was a difficulty in completing a levy, they were authorized to impress men for service.

XII. 1. *Maharbale*: one of Hannibal's best officers. He followed up 6,000 Romans after the Thrasymene battle, and compelled them to surrender, (xxii. 6); cut up a detachment of 4,000 men who were marching under Centenius the proprætor to aid Flaminius, (xxii. 8); and if Livy's account is true, commanded the Carthaginian right wing at Cannæ, (xxii. 46). It was he who urged Hannibal after the victory to hasten immediately to Rome.

5. *Postulabatur autem*, "now the demands were that," &c.—*autem* exegetical, as again just below, "*erat autem tum miles*," &c.

6. *pactis ejus*, "that peace;" the terms of which Aleon had refused to take back to his fellow-citizens.

XIII. 2. *vel ea fides sit*: *ea* in construction agrees with *fides*, though in sense it refers to the sentence, "*quod neque...feci*." For a similar use see ch. xvii., "*legiones duæ, ea quaterna millia erant*,"

4. a. *si eam...audiatis*. The construction is, "si, quemadmodum Hannibal, ut victor, fert eam, sic vos, ut victi, audiatis (eam)."

b. *vobis suadet*, "counsels you to accept."

XIV. 2. *momento cepit*, "carried it at once." *momento* more frequently takes a case after it, e.g. inf. 33, *momento temporis*.

3. *cui enim...ex iis*, "for how could quarter be given to any of those, who," &c.

XV. 1. *discrimen*, "distinction."

2. a. *Octavo mense*; so Polyb. iii. 17. Saguntum was captured in the year B.C. 219, when L. Æmilius Paullus and M. Livius were consuls. Hannibal shortly after went into winter quarters, and in the spring of B.C. 218 (when P. Corn. Scipio and Ti. Semp. Longus were consuls) assembled his forces for the invasion of Italy.

b. *quinto mense quam*: *quam* for *postquam*, as above, *octavo mense quam*.

4. *Aut omnia*. Any way Livy is inconsistent with himself. If Saguntum was taken in the year of P. Corn. Scipio and Ti. Sempronius, i.e. in B.C. 218, Hannibal could not have gone into winter quarters after the capture, for in that year he defeated Sempronius at the Trebia. If in B.C. 219, there still remains the mistake of the assertion in ch. xvi., that P. Corn. Scipio and Ti. Sempronius were consuls when the Saguntine embassy arrived at Rome.

XVI. 3. a. *Sardos*. At the end of the first Punic war Sardinia was left, as it had been, subject to Carthage. But in B.C. 238, the Romans having espoused the cause of the revolted mercenaries, the Carthaginians were obliged to abandon their claims. It was thus left to the natives. In B.C. 235 T. Manlius was said to have established the su-

premacv of Rome over the island, and he obtained a triumph for it. In B.C. 215 Hampsicora, a native chief, revolted, but his son Hiostus was defeated by Manlius. A second battle was fought at Caralis (*Cagliari*), in which, though aided by a Carthaginian force, the Sardinians were again beaten, Hasdrubal taken prisoner, and Hiostus slain. Hampsicora put an end to his own life. Vid. xxiii. 32, 40, 41.

b. *Corsos*. At the beginning of the first Punic war Corsica was subject to Carthage. L. Scipio, in B.C. 259, took Aleria, one of its chief cities, and the island nominally became subject to Rome. The Corsicans were never dangerous enemies, but it was not until nearly the end of the Republic that they were effectually subdued.

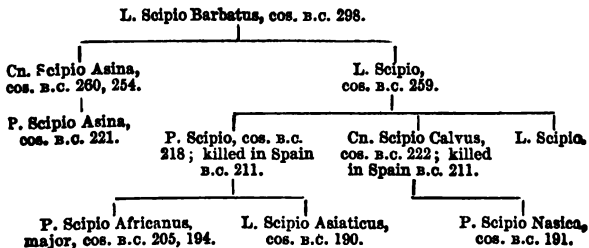
c. *Histros*. A piratical people occupying the triangular-shaped peninsula at the head of the Adriatic. They were reduced by M. Minucius Rufus (Fabius's *magister equitum*) and P. Scipio Asina, B.C. 221, in a single campaign.

d. *Illyrios*. In various tribes this people occupied the whole east coast of the Adriatic. They had long been formidable as pirates, but the fall of the Epirot power left them without restraint. At last some Roman ambassadors, who had been sent to demand reparation, having been put to death by Teuta, the Illyrian queen, war was declared; and in B.C. 229 a Roman army, under Cn. Fulvius Centumalus and L. Plotius Albinus, crossed the Adriatic for the first time, and soon reduced her to terms. On Teuta's death, Demetrius of Pharus, who had assisted the Romans in the first Illyrian war, having usurped the supreme power, and committed several breaches of the treaty, war was again declared (B.C. 219), and in a short time the consuls, L. Æmilius Paullus and M. Livius, took Pharus, (Pol. iii. 18,) and received the submission of all Illyria.

e. *et cum Gallis...belligeratum*, "and with the Gauls they had been engaged in forays rather than wars."

XVII. 1. a. *Nominata jam*. It had already been decided where the consuls were to be employed. The particular province of each was either decided by lot, as in the present case, or they might come to an agreement among themselves. In after times, by a law of C. Gracchus, it was provided that the consular provinces should *always* be determined before the election of the consuls took place.

b. *Cornelio*, Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of L. Scipio, who had been consul in the sixth year of the first Punic war. He was killed in Spain, together with his brother Cnæus, near Castulo, in the eighth year of his command there, B.C. 211, (inf. xxv. 34, 35). The following is taken from the "*Stemma Scipionum*," in the Dict. of Biogr., p. 740:—



c. *Sempronio*: Ti. Semp. Longus. With a large fleet and army he was to cross over to Lilybæum, and if necessary, make a descent upon Africa. When Hannibal's plans were known, Sempronius was recalled to reinforce Scipio in Cisalpine Gaul. In forty days he marched his army



through Italy to Ariminum, and thence joined Scipio on the Trebia. In B.C. 215 he was employed in south Italy, and defeated Hanno near Grumentum, (xxiii. 37).

d. *ipsis*, i. e. the consuls. After having levied their own men, the consuls gave notice to the allied states, from which they required contingents, of the number of men each would be called upon to furnish, and of the day and place of gathering. The magistrates had to supply lists (*formulae*, xxii. 57) of the number of their citizens capable of bearing arms.

4. a. *quaterna...trecenti*; 4,000 foot and 300 horse in each of the two legions. This was the usual war strength of the legion at this period. After the year 216 it rarely consisted of fewer than 5,000 foot,

b. *L. Manlius, prætor*. Since the year 227 there had been four prætors. Those of the present year were *L. Manlius Vulso* for Gaul; *M. Æmilius Lepidus* for Sicily; *C. Atilius Serranus, prætor peregrinus*, sent into Gaul with reinforcements after *Manlius'* defeat, (see ch. xxvi.); and *C. Terentius Varro, prætor urbanus*.

c. *in Galliam*, i. e. Cisalpine Gaul.

d. *justo equitatu*, i. e. 300 men.

XVIII. 1. a. *Q. Fabium*. *Q. Fabius Maximus*, surnamed "Ovicula," from the gentleness of his temper, and "Cunctator," from his caution. Instead of *Q. Fabius*, Arnold mentions *M. Fabius Buteo* as one of *three* instead of *five* legates. Polybius does not give their number or names.

b. *M. Livius* and *L. Æmilius* were colleagues in the Illyrian war.

c. *C. Licinium*. *C. Licinius Varus* was consul in 226, employed against the Gauls, and in the reduction of Corsica.

d. *Q. Æmilius Tappilius*, together with *P. Valerius*

Flaccus, had been sent on a previous embassy to Hannibal while he was besieging Saguntum, (ch. vi.).

5. *a. quoniam discerni placet*; "since you choose to have a distinction drawn."

*b. nactum enim erant.* Livy remarks, in the next chapter, that there was no clause limiting the provisions of the treaty to the allies of each then being.

6. *At enim eo fœdere.* The Roman plea is anticipated—"Yes, but you will say in the treaty made with Hasdrubal the Saguntines are expressly excepted." This treaty was made in B.C. 228.—*excipiuntur*, meaning that the Saguntines were expressly left a neutral state, (ch. 2, ad fin.)

7, 8. The Carthaginian argument was that they were guilty of no violation of any acknowledged treaty in attacking Saguntum. (1.) not of Lutatius's, for Saguntum was nowhere mentioned in it; (2.) as for Hasdrubal's, they disavowed it, on the same ground on which the Romans had disavowed that of Lutatius. To this Livy replies in the next chapter.

XIX. 2. *comparandum non erat.* The cases were entirely different. The cases are—the refusal of the Romans to acknowledge the treaty of Lutatius, and that of Carthage to acknowledge the treaty of Hasdrubal. And Livy contends that there was no parallel between the two, because in the treaty of Lutatius there was this clause, "*ita id ratum fore si populus censuisset*," whereas in Hasdrubal's there was no such provision.

3. *priore fœdere*: the treaty of Lutatius.

5, 6. *Bargusios...Valcianas*: two tribes of no importance in the north-east of Spain.

XX. 1. *In iis*, i.e. Gallis, or Gallis, if Gallis be correct in the preceding chapter,

3. *neque Romanorum*: "the Romans had never done them any good, or the Carthaginians any harm, that they should take up arms either for the one or against the other."

4. *Massiliam* (Marseilles): in Gallia Narbonensis, east of the mouths of the Rhone. A strong friendship, dating from this time, subsisted between Massilia and Rome. There were Massilian ships in the fleet of Cn. Scipio, on the coast of Spain. (B. xxii., ch. xix. 4.) In B.C. 208 the Massilians sent the Romans intelligence of the arrival of Hasdrubal in Gaul, on his way to Italy with reinforcements for his brother.

XXI. 5. *Gades*: Gr., τὰ Γαδεΐρα: a pl. form, denoting the islands on which the city stood. It was a very old Phœnician colony. Soon after the deaths of the two Scipios, through the influence of L. Marcius it formed an alliance with Rome. A little way to the south of the city was a temple of Hercules, the supreme god of Tyre.

6. *ab Sicilia*. Sicily is distant from *Cape Bon* about eighty geographical miles.

XXII. 1. *Hasdrubali*: the second son of Hamilcar Barca. Mago was the third and youngest.

2. *Ilergetum*: a tribe north of the Iberus. Livy calls their capital Athanagia, (ch. lxi). No other writer mentions it.

3. *sed aptæ, &c.*, "but only thirty-two of the quinqueremes, and the five triremes, were fully fitted and appointed with oars."

4. *Etovisam*: a city of the Edetani, between the Iberus and Sucro (*Xucar*), on the coast. Honosca (xxii. 20) was another town of the same people. It was late in May when Hannibal set out for the Iberus.

5. *cura humani ingenii*, "with natural curiosity."

XXIII. 2. a. *Nonaginta millia*. Hannibal crossed the Ebro with 90,000 foot and 12,000 horse, but his numbers were reduced partly by heavy losses in reducing the tribes between the Ebro and Pyrenees, partly by a detachment of 11,000 men whom he left with Hanno, and partly by his sending back about 11,000 of his Spanish soldiers, so that he entered Gaul with not more than 50,000 foot and 9,000 horse. Pol. iii. 35. 7.

b. *Ausetanos*. These and the Lacetani were small tribes at the foot of the Pyrenees.

c. *Hannonem*. Hanno's duty was to make good the occupation of the conquered country between the Ebro and Pyrenees, but Cn. Scipio landed in B.C. 218, and before Hasdrubal could come up to his support, Hanno was defeated and taken prisoner, (ch. lxi.,) and his troops driven across the Ebro.

d. *fauces*. There were three roads. 1. At the western extremity of the range, near the coast over the Bidassoa; 2. More to the east, leading from Cæsaraugusta (*Saragossa*) to Benearnum (*Barege*); 3. At the eastern extremity, near the coast of the Mediterranean. By this last Hannibal passed. Hasdrubal crossed afterwards by the western route.

3. *ad præsidium obtinendæ regionis*, "to guard the province which he was to hold."

XXIV. 1. *Iliberri*, al. *Illibërim*: a town on a small river of the same name near the coast, at the eastern extremity of the Pyrenees.

2. *Ruscinonem*: a little north of Illiberis; now *Rousillon*.

3. *ut ex propinquo...esset*, "in order that being near, they might the more easily meet for conference."

XXV. 1. a. *Boii*: a Celtic people who had migrated from

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Transalpine Gaul into Umbria. The Romans having occupied the lands of the Senones, a war broke out between them and the Boii in 225. The latter were defeated, but remained hostile until 218, when, without waiting for Hannibal, they attacked and defeated the Romans, who were founding the colony of Placentia. Two years later they destroyed the army of Postumius, (xxiii. 24). They were ultimately reduced (B.C. 191) by Scipio Nasica.

b. *Insubribus*: a nation of the Gauls confederate with the Boii. C. Flaminius crossed the Po and gained a great victory over them in B.C. 223. In the following year Marcellus and Gn. Corn. Scipio reduced them to submission. It was in this war that Marcellus killed the Gaulish chief Viridomarus, and won the *spolia opima*.

c. *Placentiam* (*Placenza*): on the south bank of the Po, just below the influx of the Trebia. This is the earliest mention of the existence of the town.

d. *Cremona*: on the north bank of the Po, a little below the confluence of the Addua—the sister city to Placentia. Neither it nor Placentia were taken by Hannibal.

e. *colonias*: one of the main objects of a Roman colony was to keep the conquered people in check. The colonists had all the rights of Roman citizens.

2. a. *triumviri*: commissioners temporarily appointed at Rome to execute any extraordinary office. Thus we find *triumviri mensarii*, xxiii. 21; *triumviri reſciendis ædibus*, xxv. 7, &c.

b. *Mutinam* (*Modena*): about seventy miles south-east from Placentia. The Via Æmilia, which was made about the year B.C. 187, from Ariminum to Placentia, passed through it. Mutina fell into Roman hands sometime in the Gallic war, (B.C. 225–222).

c. *C. Lutatius*: probably the son of that Lutatius whose victory ended the first Punic war. He was consul in B.C. 220

with L. Veturius Philo. He remained captive among the Gauls, together with C. Servilius, until the year B.C. 208, when both were released by C. Servilius the consul, son of the triumvir, (xxx. 19). Of T. Annius nothing is known.

6. a. L. *Manlius*; L. Manlius Vulso, (ch. xvii). He was an unsuccessful candidate for the consulship in B.C. 216, (xxii. 35).

b. *effusum*, "in haste and disorder," without the usual precautions of an army on the march. The opposite would be *agmen quadratum*, as ch. v. note 11; or *agmine composito*, as in ch. xxxiv.

10. a. *Tanactum*; a small town on the Via Æmilia, but at some distance from the Po. There is still a hamlet called *Taneto*.

b. *commeatibus fluminis*, "supplies brought down by the river."

XXVI. 1. *una legione*. This legion had been intended to form part of the army in Spain: Scipio's departure from Rome was therefore delayed until a new legion could be raised.

2. *Saluvium montes*. The Salyes, or Saluvii, were a Ligurian people, extending from the Alpes Maritimæ to the Rhone, and northwards as far as the Druentia.

4. a. *Volcarum agrum*. There were two divisions of the Volcæ, the Arecomici and Tectosages: together they extended from the Pyrenees to beyond the Rhone.

b. *citeriore agro*, "the hither side;" i.e. the western, taking the point of view from the side on which the bulk of the nation dwelt, or perhaps from Hannibal's approach.

6. *ex singulis arboribus*: μονόξυλα πλοῖα. Polyb. iii. 42. 2.

XXVII. 1. a. *Hannonem, Bomilcaris filium*. First man,

tion of this Hanno. Polybius says he commanded the right wing at Cannæ, (Pol. iii. 114; but compare note, ch. xii.)

b. *adverso flumine*, "up the river." So *adversa ripa*, ch. xxxi., opposed to *secunda aqua*, ch. xxviii., "down the stream," *secundo æstu*, xxiii. 41, "down the tide," "with the tide in their favour."

3. *sine ulla mole*, "without any ado."

5. *equites fere*. The reading *eques* gives no sense. With *equites* the sense is, "a line of vessels (arranged) some way up the stream, so as to break the force of the current, afforded the horsemen a means of crossing, with their horses for the most part close at hand, swimming alongside, and at the same time made the water smooth for the light boats crossing lower down."

XXVIII. 5. *ut quemque*. The order is, "ipso impetu fluminis rapiente (quemque) in alteram ripam ut vadum destituerat quemque timentem altitudinem." The elephants were afraid to take the stream at once, but advanced cautiously, until the water carried them off their legs, and then the current of itself swept them to the other side.

6. a. *id ut*, "this, as it would plainly be the safer course if the thing had to be done (*ante rem*), so it is much more likely that it was the one actually (*acta re*) adopted."

b. *applicatam*, "lashed alongside."

c. *actuariis navibus*, "light towing boats."

7. a. *donec continenti velut ponte agerentur*, "as long as they were driven along as on a bridge all one with the land," i.e. before it was cast off from the bank.

b. *a cæteris*, i.e. *ratibus*, (Polybius speaks of several): or *elephantis* may be supplied.

XXIX. 4. *haud incruentam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam*, "success by no means bloodless, and only obtained after a doubtful contest."

5. *a. nisi ut, &c.*, "except to guide his own efforts by the plans of the enemy."

b. *integro bello, &c.*, "having the war *entire* before him, without wasting his strength in other enterprizes."

6. *utique inexpertis*, "especially as they had not made trial." All report described the Alps as very formidable, and they had no experience to make them think less of the dangers they were about to incur in trying to cross them.

XXX. 1. *quicumque Saguntum obsedissent*, "all who had been engaged in the siege of Saguntum." See ch. vi., ad fin.

2. *a. nunc...subsistere...quid aliud credentes*, "now; when their work was almost done, to stop short, wearied at the very gates of the enemy! why, what else did they think the Alps were but mountain heights?"—*fingerent*, "suppose they were," &c.

b. *eos ipsos...legatos*; ch. xxix.

c. *nec majores...indigenas*, "nor had their ancestors sprung out of the ground."

XXXI. 2. *adversa ripa*: see ch. xxvii., note b.

3. *a. Isara (Isère)*. Polyb. iii. 49. 6, Bekker's ed. The reading "Araris," which is found in many editions of Livy, is probably wrong. The Isère is one of the chief branches of the Rhone. It rises in the Pennine Alps (*Great St. Bernard*), and after a winding course of 160 miles, joins the Rhone a few miles north of Valence.

b. *incolunt prope Allobroges*. This could hardly be said, if "Araris" were the reading above; for Hannibal must have passed through the lands of the Allobroges to reach the Arar. This is the first time the Allobroges occur in history: in Cæsar their name is frequent enough.

7. *a. ad lævam*. The point of direction must be, not Han-



nibal's previous route, as we should have expected, but the course of the stream.

b. *Tricastinos...Tricorios*. It is not possible to determine the exact limits of these peoples. Two rivers, the Isara above, and the Druna below Valence, join the Rhone from the east. Between these rivers lay the Tricastini, near the Rhone, and the Tricorii, more to the east. The Vocontii were farther south, between the Druna and the Druentia. Hannibal, according to Livy, passed through the Tricastini and Tricorii, skirting the Vocontii, until he came to the (upper streams of the) Druentia. This route would seem to have brought him to the Alpes Cottiae (*Mont Genevre*). If he followed the valley of the Isara, he must have come to the Alpes Graiæ (*Little St. Bernard*); and this on the whole is the most probable route.

XXXII. 1. *quadrato agmine*. See above, ch. v.

2. *tantum progressos*, "having had so great a start of him."

3. *Genuam repetit*. Scipio landed at Pisa (ch. xxxix.), and immediately crossed the Apennines, and took command of the forces of Manlius and Atilius, the prætors, amounting to about 25,000 men.

4. *cum bona pace...Gallorum*, "without molestation from the Gauls."

5. a. *Erigentibus agmen*, "as they ascended."

6. *imminentes tumulos*: dependent upon *insidentes*.

9. a. *pluribus...factis*, "a number of fires having been made (many more than were proportioned to the number of the men who remained behind) to deceive the enemy."

b. *angustias evadit*, "makes his way through and out of the defile."

XXXIII. 2. a. *quicquid adjecissent*. The order is, "rati quicquid terroris ipsi adjecissent fore satis ad perniciem."

b. *pervetsis rupibus*, "by, or over, the craggy rocks."

c. *juxta invia ac devia astueti*, "accustomed to the pathless heights and intricate tracks alike." *Invia ac devia* depends upon *astueti*. Virg. *Æn.* vi. 833, has a similar construction: "*ne tanta animis assuescite bella.*"

4. *infestam agmen faciebant*, "made the march dangerous."—*infestum faciebant* = *infestabant*.

6. *ne...traducisset*, "lest he should find, after all, that since he had lost his baggage, he had brought his army safe through to no purpose." It is not easy to give concisely the force of the pluperfect and participle.

7. *tractati*. Hannibal emerged from the defile into the valley between the Lake Bourget and the Isère. The next three days led him along the valley of the Isère, on the right bank. Arnold, vol. iii. p. 86.

XXXIV. 1. *frequentem...ut inter montanos*, "thickly populated for mountaineers." Other editions have *inter montana*, "for a mountain district."

3. *ad fidem promissorum*, "as a pledge for the good faith of their promises." Cf. Bk. xxiii., ch. xii.

4. *agmine composito*. See ch. xxv. § 6, note b.

6. *extrema agminis*: the front and rear.

7. *quia non*. The construction is, "*quia ut ipse erat præsidio equitibus (ab tergo), ita non reliquerat quicquam auxilii peditibus ab tergo.*" Hannibal "had sent forward his cavalry and baggage, and covered the march with his infantry, who thus had to sustain the brunt of the attack." Arnold, iii. p. 88.

XXXV. 4. *Nono die*, "after they had left the plains of Dauphiné." Arnold, iii. p. 88.

6. *occidente jam sidere Vergiliarum*: *νεπὶ τῇ τοῦ Παιλῶος ὁδοῦ*, (Pol.) = *Vergilia*: the Italian name for the

Pleiades, derived from their spring-rising. "Hannibal was on the summit of the Alps about the end of October; the first winter snows had already fallen; but two hundred years before the Christian era, when all Germany was one vast forest, the climate of the Alps was far colder than at present, and the snow lay on the passes all through the year." Arnold, iii. 89.

10. *nec qui...vestigio suo*: lit., "and when any of them lost their balance, thrown down, they could not keep to their own steps;" i. e. they slipped or rolled down so as to upset those who were near them. The sentence is a very confused one. The order should be, *ut qui paulum titubassent neque possent sustinere se a lapsu, nec afflicti hærere vestigio suo*. *Afflicti*, after they had fallen; *hærere vestigio suo*, remain where they fell. *vestigio*; see Bk. xxii., ch. xlix. § 2.

XXXVI. With this chapter compare Polyb. iii. 54-5. Livy's account is evidently copied from Polybius.

2. *natura locus...abruptus erat*: σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τρία ἡμιστάδια τῆς ἀπορῥῶγος καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὖσης, τότε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι προσφάτως ἀπερῥωγύας. Pol. iii. 54. 7.

4. *veterem nivem*, "the snow of the preceding winter;" the same as the "*nudam infra glaciem*" and the "*infimam nivem*" lower down. — *insistebant*, "found standing," or "made impression." Ἐπὶ γὰρ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν χιώνα καὶ διαμεμενηκυῖαν ἐκ τοῦ πρότερον χειμῶνος (*veterem nivem intactam*) ἄρτι τῆς ἐπιετοῦς πεπτωκυίας, ταύτην μὲν εὐδίακοντον εἶναι (*facile pedes insistebant*) συνέβαινε, καὶ διὰ τὸ πρόσφατον οὖσαν ἀπαλὴν ὑπάρχειν (*mollī*), καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδέπω βάθος ἔχειν (*nec praealtæ*). Polyb. iii. 55. 1.

5. a. *ut a lubrica glacie...fallente*: "for the ice was slippery, and would not hold their steps; and being on a steep declivity, threw them down all the quicker." — *non*

*recipiente vestigium* = οὐ δυνάμενοι τὴν κάτω χιόνα διακόπτειν of Polybius.—*in prope, ἐπιπολὺ κατωφερῶν ὄντων τῶν χωρίων.*

b. *ipsis adminiculis*, i.e. *manibus et genu.*—*ut, seu...corruerent.* ὁπότε περόντες βουλευθεῖεν ἢ τοῖς γόνασιν ἢ ταῖς χερσὶ προσεξερείσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν (*in assurgendo*) τότε καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπέπλεον ἅμα πᾶσι τοῖς ἐρείσμασιν (*ipsis adminiculis*).

c. *volutabantur*, "floundered."

d. *infimam nivem*, i.e. the snow of the winter before, which had become hard on the surface.—*in connitendo*, "in their struggles." With the whole passage, *Jumenta...glacie*, cf. Pol. iii. 55. 5: τὰ δ' ὑποξύγια διέκοπτεν ὅτε πέσοι τὴν κάτω χιόνα κατὰ τὴν διανάστασιν· διακόψαντα δὲ ἔμενε μετὰ τῶν φορτίων ὅλον καταπεπηγότα διὰ τε τὸ βάρος, καὶ διὰ τὸ πῆγμα τῆς προὑπαρχούσης χιόνος.

XXXVII. 2. *aceto*. Polybius has nothing of this. Pliny mentions it, xxxiii. 3.

4. a. *Quatriduum*. The way was made practicable for the horses and baggage-cattle in one day, but it took three days longer to make it passable for the elephants. Cf. Pol. iii. 55. 7.

b. *nuda enim...loca*: τῶν γὰρ Ἀλπεων τὰ μὲν ἄκρα καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἀνήκοντα τελέως ἄδενδρα καὶ ψιλὰ πάντ' ἐστὶ, διὰ τὸ συνεχῶς ἐπιμένειν τὴν χιόνα καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος· τὰ δ' ὑπὸ μέσην τὴν παρώρειαν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν μεροῖν, ὕλοφόρα καὶ δενδροφόρα, καὶ τὸ ὅλον οἰκήσιμα ἐστίν.

XXXVIII. 1. *quinto decimo die*. On the ninth day they reached the summit of the central ridge; there they halted two days, and four days were spent in pioneering the descent; but the whole army did not reach the plains of Italy until the eighteenth day.

2. *viginti millia peditum, sex equitum*: 12,000 African,

8,000 Spanish infantry, and 6,000 cavalry. This was the number which Hannibal himself caused to be inscribed upon the bronze tablet in the temple of the Lacinian Juno, near Crotona, (Pol. iii. 56. 4.) If this be the correct number, he must have lost 33,000 men between the Pyrenees and Italy.

3. *L. Cincius Alimentus*, was prætor in Sicily B.C. 209; he was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, and well treated by Hannibal, from whom he obtained an account of his passage through Gaul and over the Alps. Niebuhr gives him credit for considerable research.

4. a. *Taurinis*: a Ligurian people dwelling on the eastern slope of the Alpes Cottæ: their limits are very uncertain. This is the first time we hear of them in history. Augusta Taurinorum (*Turin*) is the only one of their cities known; and it was of a much later foundation.

b. *quum inter omnes constet*, "since it is allowed on all hands." This is by no means the case, for Polybius (iii. 56. 3) says that he descended among the Insubriana, and mentions the Taurini subsequently (iii. 60. 8). Livy's argument, therefore, for the route of the Alpes Cottæ is of no value.

c. *Pœnino*: more correctly written Pennino, from the Celtic *Pen*, "a summit." The Romans worshipped Jupiter under the name Penninus.

d. *Coelium*: L. Coelius Antipater, an historian, flourished cir. B.C. 120. He wrote a history of the second Punic war, following the Greek of Silenus, who was a friend and attendant of Hannibal. He is frequently quoted by Livy, e.g. ch. xlv., xlvii.

e. *Cremonis jugum*: some part, not certainly known, of the Alpes Graiæ.

f. *Salassos*: a very powerful people, probably Ligurian, occupying the valley of the Doria major (*Dora Baltea*),

leading from the two passes of the Pennine and Graian Alps. One of the main arguments alleged against Hannibal's passage by this route is, that his march does not appear to have been molested, although the Salassians were "the most untameable robbers of all the Alpine barbarians." (Arnold.)

g. *Libuos*: a tribe of Cisalpine Gauls, north of the Po, in the lower valley of the Duria.

XXXIX. 6. *occupavit*, "hastened," or "was first" to cross. Scipio crossed at Placentia, then ascended the left bank by a bridge over the Ticinus. Hannibal was descending the left bank to meet him.

XL. Scipio's speech to his army. After apologizing for addressing them at all, he tells them the nature of the war they were commencing, with an enemy whom they had often before vanquished; who were reduced to mere shadows by cold and famine, punishments which the gods had sent upon them for their perfidy. These were not mere words of encouragement, which he did not feel; his presence there among them was proof enough of that; he wanted to find out whether the last twenty years had really produced different foes, or whether, after all, they were no other than revolted slaves, whom he called upon them to visit with just vengeance. He reminds them that they were going to fight now, not for glory only, but the safety of themselves, their families, and their country.

1. a. *"supersedissem loqui*, "I should have forborne to address you."

b. *Hispaniæ provinciæ scriptus*, "levied for Spain."

c. *meis auspiciis*: for he was consul. The protasis is from *quia...obtuli*; *novo imperatori...facienda sunt* is the apodosis.

4. *At enim*, "but, it will be said;" an objection anticipated. See ch. xviii., note, § 6.

5. *profigare*. *profigare* means to strike down, and almost despatch, *prope finem adducere*. *profigare bellum*, to break the force of the war, so as to give the Romans an easy victory. *secundum deos*, "next after the gods."

XLI. 2. a. *quum declinarem certamen*, must be taken closely after *improvisus incidisse*, "do I seem to have fallen in his way whilst I was trying to avoid an engagement with him?" Scipio is supposing some one to say that he had only met Hannibal because he could not get out of his way. Hannibal in his speech (ch. xliii.) does in fact imply this, calling Scipio a "deserter exercitus sui."

b. *vectigalis stipendiariusque*. *Vectigales* are those who pay a *fluctuating* tribute, e.g. a tithe of the produce of their land. *Stipendiarii*, those who pay a *fixed* tax of money or produce.

c. *agitaret*, "madden," like a Fury.

4. *tutelæ nostræ duximus*, "we thought it our duty to protect them," "we regarded them as under our protection."

5. *de quibus quondam agebatur*, "which were the prizes formerly at stake."

6. *identidem*, "again and again."

XLII. 1. *quis...vellet*, "who of them would be willing to fight on condition of being freed from his bonds, and receiving, if victorious, arms and a horse."

2. *in id*, "for that purpose," i.e. compliance with their demand.

XLIII., XLIV. Hannibal's speech to his army. Their position was such that they must conquer or die. There was every motive to animate them,—the hope of immediate recompense for all that they had gone through, the recol-

lection of their achievements in the last twenty years, confidence in themselves and their general, the ill-disciplined state of the enemy, the justice of their cause, the preposterous and arbitrary demands of Rome.

**XLIII. 3. *habentibus*,** "whilst we have;" either abl. abs., or it may be a dative.

**7. *vastis*,** "waste."

**8. *circumsesto a Gallis* :** see ch. xxv.

**XLIV. 3. *qui Saguntum oppugnassetis* :** see ch. xxx.

**4. *quos ne excedamus*,** "which they command us not to pass."—*neque eos, &c.*, "and yet they do not keep to the bounds which they themselves appoint."

**5. *Ne transieris...moveris* :** "you are not to cross the Ebro, nor have anything to do with the Saguntines. Saguntum is as far as the Ebro: you are not to stir from where you are."—*ad Iberum est Saguntum* is represented by Hannibal to be the interpretation which the Romans gave to *ne transieris Iberum*.

**XLV. 1. *Ticinum*.** The Ticinus (*Ticino*) rises in the Mont St. Gothard, forms the Lacus Verbanus (*Lago Maggiore*) not far from the Alps, and, after a course of about sixty miles, flows into the Po. It is very rapid, the banks marshy, and belted with woods and thickets. The Ticinus, from its importance as a barrier to invaders from the north-west, has been the scene of many battles.

**2. *Victumulis* :** nothing is known of this place.

**3. *si falleret*.** The order is, "*precatus Jovem cæterosque deos, ita mactarent se, si falleret, quemadmodum,*" &c.

**4. a. *velut...quisque acceptis*.** Two constructions are confused: (1.) "*velut deos auctores in spem suam quisque accepisset;*" and (2.) "*velut diis auctoribus in spem suam cuique acceptis.*"

**b. *id moras quod, &c.* :** see ch. v., note, § 9.



XLVI. 6. a. *Ja pavor*, "the alarm caused by this movement," viz., of the Numidian horse on the rear.

b. *fili*: see Polyb. x. 3. Africanus was seventeen years old at the time. This is the first notice of him.

XLVII. 3. *citeriore ripa*: see ch. xxvi. On Hannibal's side, i. e. the right bank of the river.—*in secundam aquam*: see above, note b, ch. xxvii,

5. a. *Magonem*: Hannibal's youngest brother. He distinguished himself greatly at Trebla, Cannæ, in Spain, and throughout the war. There is some uncertainty about his death, but Livy says that he died of his wounds while on his way back to Carthage, (B.C. 203).

b. *per superiora Padi vada*. "Hannibal finding the bridge over the Ticinus destroyed, reascended the left bank of the Po, till he found a convenient point to cross, and then, having constructed a bridge with the river boats, carried over his army in safety." Arnold. Cf. Polyb. iii. 66. 5, 6.

6. a. *Ea...fecerint*, "that will scarcely be believed by those who are acquainted with this river."

b. *ut, &c.*, "even though we were to grant that," &c.

6. a. *sex millia a Placentia*: "Apparently to the east of it, cutting off the direct communication with Ariminum and Rome." Arnold.

b. *potestatem pugnae fecit*, "offered battle."

XLVIII. 3. *ad Trebiam fluvium*. Scipio retired "westward, to the left bank of the Trebia, and lay encamped just where the stream issues from the last hills of the Apennines." Arnold.

7. *Clastidium* (*Casteggio*): a town and fortress of some strength, about seven miles south of the Po, nearly opposite the mouth of the Ticinus. Its neighbourhood was

famous for the victory of Marcellus over the Gauls, B.C. 222.

8. *nummis aureis*. The *nummus aureus* before Augustus is generally rated at a little more than a guinea. The first gold *coinage* is said not to have taken place before B.C. 207, eleven years subsequent to the present history.

**XLIX.—LI.** Progress of the war in Sicily and the islands. Before the arrival of Sempronius, three Carthaginian ships, driven by stress of weather into the straits, had been captured by Hiero's ships. The safety of Lilybæum secured by the action of the prætor, M. Æmilius. Arrival of Sempronius; his occupation of Melita. He is recalled by the Senate to join Scipio in the north.

**XLIX. 2. a. Liparas (Lipari):** the largest of the Æolian islands. It was a favourite naval station of Carthage in the first Punic war, but passed into Roman hands B.C. 251. Lipara was its chief town.

**b. insulam Vulcani (Vulcano):** the southernmost of the Æolian group. It was also called Hiera, "the sacred island."

**c. in fretum,** "the straits of Messina."

**6. perque omnem oram:** coupled to *ad civitates*. The order is, "legati missi (sunt) a prætore circa ad civitates, &c., perque omnem oram, qui prospicerent," &c.

**7. sublati armamentis,** "under sail," lit. "with sails hoisted."

**L. 1. ex propinquo vires conferre,** "to come to close quarters."

**6. nondum gnaris, i.e. his, qui Messanæ erant, nondum gnaris ejus, sc. pugna.**

**LI, 3, Viboniensi agro.** Vibo (*Bivona*) was a Greek city

of note on the west coast of Bruttium. There is no mention of it again until after the close of this war.

5. a. *extemplo in naves impositum*. Polybius (iii. 61) gives a different account; he says that Sempronius took an oath of his soldiers that they would meet him at Ariminum by a certain day. And afterwards (68), it appears that they marched through Italy, and reached Ariminum in forty days after leaving Lilybæum.

b. *Ariminum (Rimini)*: a very important city on the coast of Umbria, a few miles south of the border of Cisalpine Gaul. It became a Roman colony in B.C. 268. As a military post it was of the highest importance, for it was situated just at the point towards Cisalpine Gaul where the Apennines descend towards the Hadriatic, so that it was, in fact, the key to Cisalpine Gaul and the eastern coast of Italy. Its value was soon greatly increased by the two great roads—the Flaminian, opened B.C. 221, from Rome to Ariminum, (for a description of which see Arnold's Hist. of Rome, vol. iii. pp. 58-9,) and the Æmilian (B.C. 187), from Ariminum to Placentia.

c. *supero mari*: the upper sea, or Hadriatic, opposed to the *mare inferum*.

LII. 3. *per ambiguum favorem*, "by espousing neither side."

7. a. *Boiorum perfidiam*: see ch. xxv.

b. *Sempronius*. The construction is, "Sempronius censabat primos, qui eguissent ope, defensos esse maximum vinculum continendis sociis in fide."

9. a. *unde*, i. e. from the Carthaginian camp.

b. *major tamen...fuit*, "yet on the whole the Romans had the credit of victory." The construction is, "*fama victoriæ Romanis major fuit quam (fama victoriæ) hostijum.*"

LIII. 2. *si videant: nos...pavescentes, Pœnum...fecisse*, alike depend upon *videant*.

3. *ne in novos...differretur*, "lest the war (i.e. the decision of it) should be put off until new consuls came into office, and lest the opportunity, too, &c., should be lost."—*differretur* belongs unequally both to *bellum* and *occasio*.

LIV. 2. *centenos viros*: from the infantry and cavalry, a hundred from each.

3. *prætorium*, the officers who had been summoned to the general's tent.

8. *quicquid auræ fluminis appropinquabant*, "as they drew near the cold blasts from the river." The construction is Greek.—*auræ* is dat. governed by *appropinquabant*: *quicquid* acc. = καὶ ὅτι.

LV. 4. a. *circumdedit peditibus*, "he posted on the right and left of his infantry."

b. *nominis Latini*. The *socii nominis Latini* were not Latins by extraction or geographical position: their states were colonies of Roman citizens, having municipal governments of their own, though subject to the sovereignty of Rome. For a more full account of their restrictions and privileges, see Arnold's Hist. of Rome, vol. iii. pp. 13—17.

LVI. 1. *media acie*, "from the centre."

2. *in orbem pugnare*, is "to form a circle and fight." Cæs. B. G. 4. 37, "quum illi, orbe facto, se defenderent." Much the same as to fight back to back.

LVII. 3. a. *Cn. Servilius*. His cognomen was Geminus. He must be distinguished from the C. Servilius mentioned in ch. xxv. C. Servilius Geminus is unknown before his consulship. Whilst Flaminius (B.C. 217) was occupied against Hannibal, Servilius commanded a large fleet against

Sardinia and Corsica, and crossed into Africa, (xxii. 31, 32). Towards the close of 217, he, with his colleague Atilius Regulus, was employed in Italy against Hannibal, but he avoided fighting; he was killed the following year at Cannæ, (xxii, 49),

b. *C. Flaminius*. This was, no doubt, a popular election, for Flaminius's name was associated with great victories in Gaul. See note, ch. xxv. l. b.

4. a. *quæque iis impeditiora erant. quæque for quæcunque*. See Bk. xxiii. ch. xl. § 6. The construction is, "Celtiberis Lusitanisque vastantibus" (which must be gathered from the meaning of the preceding sentence) "loca quæcunque impeditiora erant his."—*iis*, "for them." The Celtiberians and Lusitanians ravaged where the Numidian horsemen could not.

b. *Padæ subueherent*, "brought up the Padæ."

5. *quum plurimum...habuisset*, "having great hope for the accomplishment of his purpose in concealing his design." The construction is, "*quum habuisset plurimum spei ad effectum (ejus) in celando incepto*."

10. *magis agmina quamacies*, "the armies met in marching rather than fighting order."

LVIII. 2. a. *includeret*: the nominative is *ventus*, or *vento mixtus imber*.

b. *vergi a vento*, "with their backs to the wind."

3. *captis auribus et oculis*, "deafened and blinded."

4. *explicare*, "unfold;" referring to the canvas of the tents.

5. *ad alienam...tendere*, "each one, unable to help himself, looked to others for help."

LIX. 2. *ab Roma*: he had gone to hold the consular comitia. See ch. lvii.

10. a. *ejus* : supply *numeri*.

b. *præfecti sociorum*. There were twelve of these in every consular army. In rank they equaled the legionary tribunes.

11. *Lucam* (*Lusea*). It lies in a plain at the foot of the Apennines, on the left bank of the Auser, and about twelve miles from the sea.

12. *cum iis*, i.e. the Ligurians.

LX. 1. *Emporiss* (*Ampurias*) : a city just south of the Pyrenees, on the Gulf of Rosas. It was of importance as the first landing-place from Gaul,

3. *ad regionis ejus præsidium*. See ch. xxiii.

5. *Scissis* : an unknown town of Hisp. Citerior. Polybius calls it Cissa, (iii. 76. 5).

LXI. 6. *Athanagiam*. Ch. xxii., note 2.

7. *urbes eorum*. The principal cities of the Ausetani were Ausa and Gerunda (*Gerona*) ; which of these is meant is unknown.

8. *pluteos*. The *pluteus* was a kind of shed made of wood, and covered with hides, under which a besieging force made its approaches.—*vineas* : see ch. vii. note 4.

LXII. 1. a. *foro olitorio*, "the vegetable market." *Forum* originally meant any open space before a building ; hence, distinguished by an epithet signifying what was sold therein, "a market-place." So *forum boarium*, "the cattle market," occurs just below.

b. *Lanuvii* : a city of Latium near the Appian road, about twenty miles from Rome. After the Latin war (B.C. 340) its only importance was the peculiar sanctity which attached to it as one of the chief seats of the old Latin religion. Its temple of Juno Sospita was held in especial reverence.

c. *hastam*: the sacred spear in the hand of the statue of Juno.

d. *pulvinario*, "cushioned seat" or "couch."

e. *agro Amiternino*: Amiternum was one of the oldest Sabine cities, at the foot of the loftiest height of the Apennines.—*hominum specie...visos*: "figures were seen at a distance in human shape clad in white garments."

f. *Cære*, or *Agylla*, was an old Pelasgic city of Etruria, about twenty-five miles from Rome. We hear very little of it in this war. It was one of the cities which furnished Scipio with supplies, (xxviii. 45). The site is now occupied by the poor village of *Cervetri*.

g. *sortes extenuatas*, "the divining tickets were found to have shrunk in size." These *sortes* were small counters, or pieces of wood, which were either thrown like dice, or drawn like lottery tickets, and by the inscriptions upon them, (see lib. xxii. § 6,) or other tokens, were supposed to declare the will of the gods. The *sortes* of Cære were held in great repute; so were those of Præneste. (Cic. de Divin. ii. 41; Liv. xlv. 44.)

2. a. *libros*: the Sibylline books.—*decemviri*: these were the *decemviri sacrorum*, who were members of a kind of ecclesiastical college, and were elected for life. Their chief duty was the care of the Sibylline books.

b. *novemdiale sacrum*: a festival of nine days duration; the usual means of deprecating the anger of the gods on the occurrence of the portent here mentioned. It was instituted by Tullus Hostilius. (B. i. 31.)

3. a. *lectisternium*: a kind of half feast, half sacrifice, in which the images of the gods were laid on couches, with tables and viands before them, and were supposed to be partaking of the feast. (See B. v. 13.)

b. *supplicatio*: a *supplicatio* was either an act of humi-

tion in times of danger, or of *thanksgiving* for success. Here, of course, it was the former.

c. *indicta*, "announced," "appointed." Cf. inf. lxiii. 5. c.

LXIII. 1. *ad consulem*; i. e. Sempronius.

2. a. *Huic...Flaminius*. The consuls did not, at this time, enter upon their office before the Ides (15th) of March. But Flaminius, for the reasons mentioned, had already left the city, and was at Ariminum superintending the preparations for the next campaign. His province was to be Etruria, and he was to take up the army of Sempronius.

b. *tribunus plebis*. Flaminius had been *tribunus plebis* in B.C. 232, when, in spite of the opposition of the Senate, he had carried an agrarian law for the distribution of the Ager Picenus conquered from the Gauls.

c. *qui abrogabatur*, "which was attempted to be annulled." Flaminius was elected consul in 228, and set out for the war against the Gauls. The Optimates declared the election invalid, on account of a defect in the auspices, and sent to recall him. But Flaminius engaged the enemy and gained a complete victory. After his triumph he laid down his office, but it is not certain whether he was obliged to do so by his adversaries, or whether his time of office had expired.

d. *legem*. "The object of this bill was to hinder the Roman aristocracy from becoming, like the Venetian nobles, a company of wealthy merchants." Arnold, vol. iii. pp. 56, 7.

e. *amphorarum*. The size of Roman vessels was measured by the number of *amphoræ* which they would contain, as ours are by the tonnage. The *amphora* was equal to about six gallons.

5. a. *Latinarum feriarum*. There were three sorts of *feriæ*:



—(1.) *stativæ*, those occurring at certain *fixed* times; (2.) *conceptivæ*, occurring at times *not* fixed, but appointed every year by the magistrates; and (3.) *imperativæ*, those which were held on any great emergencies at the command of the magistrates. The *feriæ Latinæ* belonged to the second class. It was held on the Alban Mount; its object was the worship of Jupiter Latialis. The time of its celebration depended on the state of affairs; but the consuls could not take the field until it had been held; (see xxii. 1): thus it was a convenient engine in the hands of the magistrates who had to appoint the time, to promote or hinder proceedings, as they might think them desirable or mischievous.

b. *consularibus impedimentis*: matters requiring the attendance of a consul, and so detaining him at Rome.

6. a. *ante*: adverbial, opposed to *nunc*.

b. *spretorium*, i. e. *deorum*. *Capitolium*: the solemn procession to the temple of Jupiter in the Capitol on the day of inauguration.

c. *Latinas*, the *Latinæ feriæ* mentioned above. — *indiceret*, "name the day for."

d. *paludatus*. The *paludamentum* was the official robe in which the consul, after he had received the *imperium*, left the city for his province. He could not enter it again until he had divested himself of this dress.

## ANALYSIS OF BOOK XXII.

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B.C. 217. Consuls—Cn. Servilius, stationed at Ariminum; C. Flaminius at Arretium.

HANNIBAL crosses the Apennines, and marshes in North Etruria; passes by Flaminius southwards, ravaging as he goes; occupies the hills at the north-east extremity of the Trasymene Lake. BATTLE. Annihilates the army of Flaminius; crosses the Tiber into Umbria; cuts off a detachment of 4,000 men sent by Servilius to support his colleague; sustains a repulse at Spoletium; crosses into Picenum; thence makes his way southwards until he arrives at Arpi in Apulia, (ch. i—ix.)

At ROME, consternation at the tidings of the defeat and death of Flaminius. Election of Q. Fabius Maximus as prædictator. He takes command of the army of Servilius\* at Tibur, passes down into the Via Latina, thence on until he comes within sight of Hannibal at Arpi, (ix—xiii.)

\* Just as Servilius had resigned the command of his army to Fabius, news was brought of the seizure of some corn-ships by a Carthaginian fleet at Cosa. Servilius therefore at once took command of the fleet at Ostia, and set out in quest of the enemy, (ch. xi.)

**HANNIBAL** tries to bring **Fabius** to battle; ravages the land of Beneventum and other cities friendly to Rome; passes into Campania, thence on into the Falernian plain; is hemmed in by **Fabius**; his stratagem and escape; makes his way back to **Geronium**. **Fabius** follows and encamps at **Larinum**; then leaving **M. Minucius** in command, returns to Rome *sacrorum causâ*, (xiii—xviii.)

Unpopularity of **Fabius** at Rome; causes tending to inflame it. **M. Minucius**, contrary to the orders of **Fabius**, ventures on a partial engagement, and in his despatch magnifies the fight into a victory. Increased discontent against **Fabius**. Bill *De æquando magistri equitum et dictatoris jure* proposed and passed by **M. Metellus** with the help of **T. Varro**. [**M. Atilius Regulus** *suffectus in locum C. Flamini*.] **Fabius** returns to the army, the command of which is divided between him and **Minucius**; rashness and peril of **Minucius**; he is rescued by **Fabius**; admits his inability, and is reinstated in his old post of *magister equitum*, (xxiii—xxx.)

Expiration of **Fabius's** *semenstre imperium*; he resigns his army to the consuls **Servilius**<sup>b</sup> and **Regulus**, who

<sup>b</sup> **Servilius** between the resignation of his army to **Fabius** (ch. xi.), and his resumption of it in ch. xxxii., had not effected much. It does not appear whether he came up with the enemy's ships, in pursuit of which he had been sent. After having cruised with his fleet of 120 ships off Sardinia and Corsica, and taken hostages from those islands, he had stood across to Africa, devastated the island of *Meninx*, and exacted ten talents from the inhabitants of *Cercina*

for the remainder of the year adopting the cautious policy of Fabius, prevent Hannibal from effecting anything of importance, (xxxii.)

No further active operations were undertaken this year.

Friendly embassies were received at Rome from Naples, (xxxii.), and later, from Hiero with troops and supplies, (xxxvii.) Embassies were also sent to Philip of Macedon, and to Pineus the Illyrian king, (xxxiii.)

In Spain, early in the summer of B.C. 217, Cn. Scipio had succeeded in surprising the Carthaginian fleet at the mouth of the Ebro, and had captured twenty-five ships, besides destroying others. He had then sailed for Carthago Nova, and ravaged the country up to its walls, burning a great quantity of naval stores collected by Hasdrubal. From the mainland he crossed to Ebusus, which he ravaged, though he could not take the chief town; thence having received the submission of the Balearic islands, he returned to Spain and received hostages from a great many of the tribes which had previously submitted to the Carthaginians, Hasdrubal retiring before him into Lusitania. Notwithstanding these successes, the activity of the chiefs Mandonius and Indibilis and the restlessness of the

as the price of their exemption from a like fate. He had then landed on the continent, and having fallen into an ambuscade was driven back to his ships with the loss of upwards of 1,000 men. After this he returned to Sicily, where he found despatches awaiting him from Fabius, ordering him to return and resume command of the army, (ch. xxxi.)

tribes, kept Cn. Scipio rather on the defensive, until the arrival towards the end of the summer of P. Scipio with reinforcements. The two brothers then crossing the Ebro, proceed to Saguntum, where they gain an important advantage by the recovery, through the help of Abelux, of the Spanish hostages lodged there by Hannibal, (xix—xxii.)

B.C. 216. Interregnum at Rome. Election of consuls C. Terentius Varro and L. Æmilius Paulus.

Prætors—M. Pomponius Matho; peregrinus; P. Furius Philus, urbanus; M. Claud. Marcellus, for Sicily; L. Posthumius Albinus, for Gaul.

Varro's arrogance. Advice of Fabius to Æmilius Paulus.

The consuls arrive at their camp. Hannibal marches to Cannæ. Disposition of the armies. BATTLE OF CANNÆ. Destruction of Roman army. Death of Æmilius Paulus. The remnants of the Roman forces besieged in their camps. Bravery of Semp. Tuditanus, who cuts his way with six hundred men to the *majora castra*, and thence to Canusium. Surrender of the Roman camp, (xxix—lil.)

The survivors at Canusium well treated by Blusa: P. Cornelius Scipio chosen to command them. Plan *deserenda Italia* crushed by him. Varro with about 4,500 fugitives at Venusia. Joins those at Canusium, (liil., liv.)

Great alarm at Rome. Measures to reproduce confidence. Q. Fabius Pictor sent to Delphi. Marcellus, summoned from Ostia to secure the city; delivers the fleet to his colleague, P. Furius Philus: M. Junius

Pera dictator, with Tib. Sempronius as mag. equitum, (lv—lvii.)

Hannibal sends to Rome to treat about the ransom of his captives. His envoy not admitted. Meeting of the senate. Appeal of M. Junius. Reply of T. Manlius Torquatus. Resolution not to ransom the prisoners, (lviii—lxi.) Revolt of cities in Southern Italy.



## BOOK XXII.

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I. 1. *intolerandis frigoribus*, "by reason of the unbearable cold." See Bk. xxi. 58, 59.

2. a. *pro eo ut ipsi...raperent*, "instead of *their* seizing and driving off plunder." *petitusque sæpe*, &c. "and he had been often assailed by the plots of the chiefs, and had been saved only by the treachery of the chiefs themselves, who gave information of their conspiracies with the same fickleness of purpose with which they had formed them."

b. *mutando nunc vestem*, &c. See Polyb. iii. 78.

5. *id*, sc. *auspicium*. *Publicis privatisque penatibus*, in apposition to *domo*. The state had its *public*, as every family and house had its *private* Penates. There was a chapel near the centre of the city to the public Penates at Rome. As no one of a family would go abroad without having first prayed to his household gods, so every consul, dictator, or prætor was bound, on entering upon his office, to do sacrifice to the Penates of the state. *Latinis feriis*. see xxi. 63, note 5. *Monte*, the Alban mount.

6. *sortes*. See xxi. 62, note 1. g.

8. *præfarentur*. The subject may be either *decemviri*, or *Divi*. These *carmina* probably contained directions as to what gods were to be worshipped upon the occurrence of certain prodigies, and in what way.



9. a. *Junoni reginæ*. The temple of Juno Regina on the Aventine was built by Camillus after the conquest of Veii.

b. *Feroniæ* was a Sabine goddess, from whose worship sprung a town which was called by her name. It was in the territory of Capena, at the foot of Mount Soracte. The temple was plundered by Hannibal B.C. 211.

c. *Ardeæ*. Ardea was one of the most ancient cities of Latium, about twenty-four miles south of Rome, and four from the sea. It was one of the twelve *coloniæ Latinæ*, which in B.C. 209 refused to bear any longer the burthens of the war, (Bk. xxvii. 9).

d. *Saturnalia clamata*, "the cry of the Saturnalia was raised," alluding to the shouts of the throng, "Io Saturnalia." The Saturnalia was held in December, and was the great mirthful feast of the year. From Livy's expression (*populus...jussus*) it would seem to have fallen into neglect, and to have been renewed on the present occasion.

## II. Compare Polyb. iii. 79.

1. *propiore viam*. "He crossed the Apennines, not by the ordinary road to Lucca, descending the valley of the Maera, but by a straighter line down the valley of the Anser, or Serchio; and leaving Lucca on his right, he proceeded to struggle through the low and flooded country which lay between the right bank of the Arno and the Apennines below Florence." Arnold, iii. 104.

2. *admixtis ipsorum impedimentis*, "with their baggage." συγκαταμίξας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀποσκευὴν. Pol. iii. 79. 1. *cogere agmen*, "to bring up the rear," = ἐπιμελετῆν τῆς οὐραγίας. Pol. *dilaberentur*, "slip away from the ranks." *subsisterent*, "stay behind."

3. *Primi*. The Spaniards and Africans. *quo modo pro-*

*trēnt duces*, "requiring but the guides (or their officers) to shew them the way." *aut...aut*, "could neither keep up their bodies by their spirits, nor their spirits by hope." *aut...aut = neque...neque. et ipsa*. The baggage cattle were no more able to bear up than the men.

5. *necessarium cubile*, "just enough to lie upon." The order is, "*acervi jumentorum prostratorum passim toto itinere dabant tantum quod exstaret aqua*" (so much of them as was above water) "*quærentibus necessarium cubile ad quietem parvi temporis*." See Polyb. *καθεζόμενοι γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν σκευῶν σωρηδόν, ὑπὲρ τὸ ὑγρὸν ὑπερεῖχον καὶ τῇ ταχυτάτῃ τρόπῃ βραχὺ μέρος τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπεκαίμηντο*.

III. 1. a. *certum habuit*, "ascertained."

b. *Arretii*. Arretium (*Arezzo*) was at the foot of the Apennines, a little south of the Arno. It was a military post of great importance, as commanding the entrance into South Etruria and the valley of the Tiber from the north.

3. *Fasulas* (*Fiesole*). *Fasulæ* was situated on a hill above the valley of the Arno, about sixty miles from Arretium. It adjoined the marshes of the Arno, and was the first firm ground met with on emerging from them.

4. *prospero...successu* : see note, xxi.

6. *Quia imma...penates sunt*. The sentence is ironical: "Why not sit here before the walls of Arretium, whilst Hannibal slips out of our hands and devastates Italy?" &c.

9. *Num literas quoque*. Probably with allusion to the letter which the senate sent to recall him from his command in Gaul in B.C. 228. See note, Bk. xxi. ch. lxiii.

IV. Position of the two armies. Hannibal having passed by Flaminius at Arretium, descends to the south, laying waste with fire and sword as he goes. He leaves Cortona

on his left, and approaches the lake Thrasymenus, following the road in a south-east direction to the hills. Flaminius, convinced that Hannibal is shunning him, has broken up from Arretium, and presses closely on his rear.

1. *a. quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasumennumque lacum.* Cortona was about nine miles north of the lake, situated on a lofty hill; its position rendered it almost impregnable.

b. *et jam pervenerant, sc. Pœni.*

2. *ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Trasumennus subit.* The *montes Cortonenses* (*monte Gualandro*) reach quite down to the marshes that fringe the lake, at a point near its north-west angle. On crossing these hills a view of the lake is obtained, and on descending from them one enters a kind of semicircle, with the north-east shore of the lake on the right hand forming the chord, and the hills bending round from behind to the left and front. On the hills in front Hannibal posted his African and Spanish infantry; with his light-armed troops he occupied the Gualandro hills, so as to assail the flanks of the advancing Roman column.

7. *clamore prius...cerneret.* The Romans were first apprized of their being hemmed in by the shouts of the enemy on all sides; the mist prevented their seeing them.

V. 3. *alii fugientes...agmen.* "Some, as they fled, fell in with a mass of the combatants, and could get no further; others that were rallying (*redeuntes in pugnam*), a line of fugitives again turned back."

4. *non illa ordinata, &c.* "It was not a battle in which the various divisions were marshalled in their due order," *principes, hastati, triarii.* Livy has not mentioned these divisions in their order of position. The *hastati* formed the first line, behind them the *principes*, and last the *triarii*. —*Pro signis.* The position of the *signa* was behind the

*hastati*, who therefore are the *antesignani*. *post signa alia acies*, the *principes* and *triarii*.

VI. 1. a. *pugna est*. The present tense may be employed to give vividness to the picture, or else it is simply a mistake for *erat*.

b. *Ducario nomen, erat*. Livy alone mentions this name. Polybius says that Flaminius was slain by *some* of the Gauls.

VII. 3. a. *multiplex cædes*, "a slaughter many times as great." Cf. inf. ch. liv. § 9.

b. *Fabium*. Q. Fabius Pictor, the most ancient Roman historian. He served in this war, and was sent by the senate to Delphi after the battle of Cannæ to consult the oracle by what means the gods might be propitiated. See ch. 57, and xxiii. 11.

4. a. *Latini nominis*: see Bk. xxi. ch. lv. note b.

b. *sine pretio dimissis*. Hannibal first addressed them, telling them that he was not come to war with the Italians, but to deliver them from the tyranny of Rome. Pol. iii. 85.

c. *corpora suorum*. His whole loss was 1,500, most of whom were Gauls. Thirty of the most distinguished of those who had fallen he buried with great honours. Pol. iii. 86.

VIII. 1. *ab Hannibale circumventa*. Maharbal was the commander. Polyb. iii. 86.

3. a. *jam diu*, thirty-two years. There had been dictators in recent years (the last in B.C. 221) for holding the *comitia*; but the last dictator elected for actual service had been A. Atilius Calatinus in B.C. 249, the sixteenth year of the first Punic war.

b. *consul aberat*. The nomination *must* take place within

the *ager Romanus*, and, if practicable, at Rome. If the consul could not return to the city, the *ager Romanus* was interpreted to mean any part of Italy, and the consul having received the *senatus-consultum* authorizing the appointment, might make the nomination in his camp.

IX. 1. *per Umbriam usque ad Spoletum*. Hannibal had but to cross the Tiber, which he did near Perusia, to enter upon the plain of Umbria, extending south-east as far as Spoletum. Spoletum was a *colonia Latina*, and has the fame of repelling Hannibal now, as afterwards (B.C. 209) of retaining its loyalty when other colonies were shewing disaffection, (xxvii. 9).

B. a. *quanta moles Romanæ urbis esset*. Had Hannibal advanced from Spoletum in the direction of Rome, he "would soon have entered on the territory of the thirty-five Roman tribes, where every man whom he would have met was his enemy." Arnold.

b. *avertit iter*. He turned north-east from Spoletum, and crossing "the Apennines in the direction of Ancona, invaded Picenum: he then followed the coast of the Adriatic through the country of the Marrucinians and Frentanians, till he arrived in the northern part of Apulia, in the country called by the Greeks Daunia." Arnold.

4. a. *Prætutianum Hadrianum agrum*. Hadria (*Atri*) lay about five miles from the Adriatic, a little south of the borders of the Prætutii. It became a Roman colony B.C. 282, and was one of the eighteen which remained faithful at the most critical period of the war, (xxvii. 10).

b. *Arpos*. After the battle of Cannæ, this city was one of the first to submit to Hannibal, and it continued in his power until B.C. 213, when it was betrayed to Fabius Maximus. It never recovered from the losses it sustained in this war.

c. *Luceriam*. Luceria is about twelve miles due west of Arpi. It was very important as a military post to the Romans while Hannibal was in Apulia, serving either as winter quarters for the army, or as head-quarters during successive campaigns.

6. *iterum*. His first dictatorship was in B.C. 221.

7. a. *Veneri Erycinæ*. Mount Eryx had been the scene of one of the last successes of Rome in the first Punic war. It was famous for its temple of Venus, founded, as was said, by Æneas. This is the first mention of the worship of Venus Erycina being introduced at Rome.

b. *Menti*. This is the earliest notice of any temple to Mens. See Bk. xxi. 31.

X. 1. *de vere sacro*. There are two instances in Roman history of a *ver sacrum*; the present, and one at the end of this war. The sacrifice originally comprehended all that was born of man or domestic animal during the two next spring months, March and April; but on these two occasions human beings were not included.

2. a. *hisce duellis*, specified by the following *quod duellum* and *quæ duella*.

b. *quive cis Alpes sunt*. If *quive* be correct, the construction must be supplied, "cum Gallis itave qui," &c. *Qui* is usually read.

c. *duit*; an old form of the conj. pres. for *det*.

d. *profana*, i. e. not already consecrated to any particular god. So *si id moritur...profanum*, a little below, means that if the animal died before the convenient time of its being offered, no guilt was to accrue,—it was to be considered as unconsecrated.

e. *clepsit*, for *clepsisset*. *Clepsit* is commonly read, which is for *clepserit*.—*cui cleptum erit*, "from whom it shall have been stolen,"

f. *atro die*, i.e. on a day when no rite could be performed or new matter undertaken.

g. *ante id ea*, better read as one word.—*Anteidea ac = priusquam*. The order is, “*si senatus populusque jusserit fieri anteidea ac faxit.*”

3. a. *Iudi magni* were celebrated every year, from the fourth to the twelfth of September, to Jupiter, Minerva, and Juno.

b. *æris...triente*: 333,333 asses and  $\frac{1}{3}$ . At this time the *as* was worth about two farthings and  $\frac{1}{3}$ .—*trecentis*, &c., ablatives of the cost.

XI. 2. *ab Cn. Servilio...exercitum*. This army still consisted of about 30,000 men.

3. a. *Tibur...diem ad conveniendum edixit*, “he appointed them a day for assembling at Tibur.” *Tibur* (*Tivoli*), about twenty miles north-east of Rome.

b. *ut—uti*. The repetition of the word is frequent in Livy. The punctuation of the text is incorrect: there should not be a full stop at *esset*, for the apodosis of the whole sentence begins at *ipse*—*misit*.

4. *Ocriculum*, on the left bank of the Tiber, where the Flaminia Via crosses it.

5. *Vetustate*. See above, ch. viii. 3.

6. *portum Cosanum*, on the Etrurian coast, about fifty miles from Ostia.

XII. 2. *in viam Latinam*. The Via Latina was one of the oldest of the Roman roads. It took a south-east direction from Rome, through Tusculum to Venafrum, then directly south to Teanum, and on to Casilinum on the Volturnus, where it joined the Via Appia. The marches of Fabius are not given, but he came at last within sight of Hannibal near Arpi.

4. a. *cogeret*, sc. *egredi*.

4. b. *minus...pœnitere*, to think less badly of. But *pœnitere* is impersonal, and its construction must not be overlooked. The order is, *adsuefaciebant militem minus pœnitere* (= *ut minus pœniteret*) *militem*, &c. The second *militem* must be supplied.

XIII. 1. "Hannibal finding that the Apulians did not join him, recrossed the Apennines, and moved through the country of the Hirpinians into that of the Caudinian Samnites." Arnold, p. 119.

a. *Beneventanum...agrum*. Beneventum, on the Via Appia, about thirty miles east of Capua, originally a strong Samnite city, had fallen under the power of Rome in the third Samnite war, and was now a Latin colony. The Romans gained two great successes in its neighbourhood in this war. (i.) The defeat of Hanno by Gracchus, B.C. 214, (xxiv. 14); and (ii.) The storming of Hanno's camp by Fulvius, B.C. 212, (xxv. 14).

b. *Telesiam urbem*. Telesia is a few miles north-west of Beneventum, near the right bank of the Calor, about three miles from its junction with the Volturnus. Fabius recovered it from Hannibal B.C. 214, (xxiv. 20).

2. a. *hi nuntiantes*, the verb is *moverunt*. *Quum res major quam auctores esset*, "the importance of the object being greater than the trustworthiness of his advisers." *alternis fidentem ac diffidentem*, "trusting and distrusting by turns."

b. *ut Campanos ex Samnio peteret*. From Telesia, Hannibal descended "the Calor to its junction with the Volturnus, and ascending the Volturnus till he found it easily fordable, he finally crossed it near Allifæ, and passing over the hills behind Calatia, descended by Cales into the midst of the Falernian plain, the glory of Campania." Arnold, p. 119.



c. *ut etiam atque etiam...affirmarent*, "to be very careful to make good their promises by deeds." There is no need to take *etiam atque etiam* with *monitos* before *ut*.

3. *in agrum Casinatem*. Casinum was a colony on the Via Latina.

4. a. *sed Punicum abhorrens*. Supply either *as*, as Gronov., or *nomen*. "The Punic pronunciation being unable to speak distinctly the Latin name, caused the guide to understand Casilinum instead of Casinum."

b. *Casilinum* was a strong town on the Volturnus, (which is not fordable there,) at the junction of the Latin and Appian roads. Fabius had strongly garrisoned it, and it now barred Hannibal's way to the south.

c. *campum Stellatam*. The position is not certainly known, but it was north of the Volturnus, and probably was part of the plain lying between that river and Cales.

7. *aquas Sinuessanas*. Sinuessa was on the Via Appia, where it leaves the coast to cross the Volturnus. The baths of Sinuessa were famous until eclipsed by those of Baiae.

XIV. 2. a. *ad rem fruendam*. *Fruendam* passive, "to be enjoyed." Cf. xxi. lii. § 3. Some editions have "ut reinfruendam."

b. *ut...tuta...esset*. See Bk. xxi. ch. xxv. 1, c.

3. *qui modo...indignando*, "we who lately, in our indignation at Saguntum being besieged, called upon" &c.

5. *M. Furius*. M. Furius Camillus.—*nobis dictator...quaesitus*, "this matchless dictator sought out to save us in our distress."

6. *busta Gallica*. See Bk. v. ch. xlviii., "pigrity singular of sepeliendi promiscue acervatos cumulos hominum urebant, bustorumque inde Gallicorum nomine insignem locum fecere."

10. *haud dubie ferebant...prælaturos*, "they would evidently have preferred." The order is, "*Haud dubie ferebant (se) prælaturos* Minucium Fabio ducem."

XV. 1. a. *pariter...haud minus quam*. Two constructions are mixed; *pariter in suos atque in hostes*, and *haud minus in suos quam in hostes*.

b. *infamem*, "unpopular," "found fault with."

c. *arbusta, vineæque, &c.*, in apposition to *ea regio*.

2. *Calliculam montem*; only found in Livy. From Mount Tifata, on the south of the Volturnus, M. Callicula continued the range of hills northwards, dividing the Falernian plain westward from the upper valley of the Volturnus on the east.

3. *exciderunt*, sc. *animo*, "were forgotten."

4. *Carthalo*. Perhaps the same who (ch. lviii.) was sent to Rome, after the battle of Cannæ, to negotiate. He commanded the garrison at Tarentum, and was killed there when that place was taken by the Romans, B.C. 208. (Bk. xxvii. ch. xvi).

6. *ne ab Sinuessa*. Hannibal was now, in fact, entirely hemmed in. He had the range of the Falernian plain, but the Volturnus, from Casilinum to the sea, barred his way to the south; on the east, from Casilinum to Cales, "the hills formed an unbroken barrier, steep and wooded, the few paths over which were already secured by Roman soldiers;" Cales itself, on the north-east, stopped the outlet from the plain of the Latin road; on the west was the sea, and north-west the pass of Tarracina, by securing which, Fabius blocked the Appian road.

XVI. a. *haud dubie æquiere loco*, i. e. *Romanis magis commode*.

b. *carptim*, "at different places."

c. *Liternas arenas, &c.* The Liternus near the sea formed

a large marshy pool, called the Literna Palus, which was bordered on either side by more extensive marshes. The coast for some distance was very barren and unhealthy. Liternum is chiefly famous as the place to which Scipio Africanus exiled himself.

5. *ludibrium oculorum*, "to deceive the eyes of the enemy." — *commentus*, "having devised," from *commisitor*.

XVII. 2. *irrita*, "ineffectual," i. e. to shake off the fire.

3. *ut humana apparuit*, "when it was clear that the cheat was of man's device."

4. *in agro Allifano*. Hannibal made his escape, over Mount Callicula into the valley of the Vulturnus, above Casilinum, crossed the river, and encamped in the territory of Allifæ.

XVIII. 3. *armorum habitu*, "the nature of their arms." — *campestrem hostem*, "an enemy accustomed to fight on the plain." — *statarium*, "trained to keep their ground," i. e. unused to the quick evolutions of irregular light troops. See Bk. ix. ch. xix.

6. *per Samnium*. Hannibal now "mounted the valley of the Vulturnus, towards Venafrum, marched from thence into Samnium, crossed the Apennines, and descended into the rich Pelignian plain by Sulmo, which yielded him an ample harvest of plunder; and thence retracing his steps into Samnium, he finally returned to the neighbourhood of his old quarters in Apulia." Arnold, vol. iii. p. 123.

7. *Gereonium*, al. Geronium, or Gerunium. A small place, (Livy calls it "*castellum inops Apuliæ*," Bk. xxii. ch. xxxix.), about twenty-five miles north-west of Luceria, on the edge of the Apulian plain. Polybius (iii. 100) says that the inhabitants were put to the sword, but the town

was left as a magazine for the army, which occupied a fortified camp outside the walls. Cf. inf., ch. xxiii. § 4.

8. a. *Larinate agro*. Larinum is about four miles north of Gerunium.

b. *revocatus...agens*. These nominatives have no verb. The construction might have been completed regularly with *Romam est profectus*, instead of which the sentence *hæc nequicquam...equitum* is interposed.

XIX.—XXII. Progress of the war in Spain, B.C. 217. Cn. Scipio surprises the Carthaginian fleet at the mouth of the Iberus, and captures twenty-five out of forty ships; becomes master of the whole coast; ravages the country round Carthagera; crosses to the island of Ebusus and lays it waste, though unable to take the chief town; receives embassies for peace from the Balearic islands, and several of the Spanish tribes, and defeats an insurrection of Mandonius and Indibilis, two chiefs.

On the arrival of P. Corn. Scipio, about four months after the Trasimene battle, with reinforcements, the two brothers march upon Saguntum, gain possession of the Spanish hostages held by Bostar the governor, and win great favour among the tribes by giving them their liberty.

The close of B.C. 217 finds the Romans in secure possession of the country north of the Iberus, masters of all the east coast, and steadily winning their way among the tribes of the interior, Hasdrubal having enough to do to keep under the Celtiberi, who had revolted at Scipio's instigation.

XIX. 2. *Carthagine*: Carthago Nova.

3. a. *primo idem consilii fuit*, i. e. *configendi cum hoste*.

b. *delecto milite ad naves imposito*, sc. *navibus*.

c. *altero ab Tarracone die*, "on the second day after leaving Tarraco."

8. *Vidum omnes, &c.*, "scarcely had all got on board, before some casting loose the hawsers (*resolutis aris*), stand out to their anchors, (i. e. until brought to by their anchors); others, that there might be nothing to hold them, cut their cables," &c. The ships were near the beach, anchored seaward from the prows, and made fast to the shore by hawsers from their sterns. *aris*, "the hawsers from the stern to the shore." *ancheralia*, "the cables of the anchors."

XX. 1. *insequuti...cepere*, According to the present text it would appear that the Romans captured all the vessels which had not run ashore, but the negative *non* is evidently wrongly retained: some of the Carthaginian ships escaped up the river, others ran ashore and were hauled off by the Romans.

3. *Onusam*, al. *Honozeam*, Nothing is known of the place under either name.

4. *Longunticam*, This place is also unknown. There was a district near Carthago Nova, called *Spartarius Campus*, which produced a peculiar kind of long grass (*spartum*) used for making ropes and mats. *Longuntica* may have been the place where this material was shipped.

5. *Ebusum insulam*, One of the Pityusæ insulæ. There were two islands close together, which were often confounded, as has probably been done by Livy here, under one name. The larger was called Ebusus (*Ivisa*), the smaller Ophiusa (*Formentara*). They were about 100 miles from the nearest Spanish promontory. The Balearic islands lie a good deal farther to the east, and did not anciently include Ebusus and Ophiusa, though in the modern sense they do. The islands were taken possession of for the Romans by Q. Cæcilius Metellus, surnamed Balearicus, B.C. 123.

6. *ubi...ubi*. The first *ubi* is "where;" the second, "when."

8. *saltum Castulonensem*. A range of mountains dividing the upper valley of the Bætis, on which Castulo was situated, from that of the Anas.

XXI. 1. a. *Mandonius Indibilis*. Two brothers. When Hanno, in B.C. 218, was defeated and taken by Cn. Scipio, Indibilis, who commanded the Spanish auxiliaries for him, shared his fate, (Pol. iii. 76). It is not related how he regained his liberty. In B.C. 212 he led a force of 7,500 men to join Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, and the attempt of the Romans to intercept him brought on the battle which ended in P. Scipio's defeat and death. When P. Scipio Africanus took New Carthage, the wife of Mandonius and the daughters of Indibilis fell into his hands, and his kind treatment of them, compared with the haughty conduct of Hasdrubal, won them in B.C. 209 to join the Romans with all the forces of their nation. Three years after, the report of the death of Scipio led them to revolt; but Scipio quickly defeated them, and treated them with great clemency. The next year (B.C. 205), Scipio having quitted Spain, they revolted again, but were defeated by the generals whom Scipio had left. Indibilis fell in the battle Mandonius escaped for a time, but was afterwards given up by his followers to the Romans, and put to death.

b. *antea*, i. e. before the reduction of the Iltergetes by Cn. Scipio mentioned in Bk. xxi. ch. lxi.

4. *Ilergavonensium*, al. *Ilercaonensium*, the *c* and *g* being interchangeable. They occupied the coast from a little north of the Iberus, southwards to the river Uduba. Their chief town was Dertosa (*Tortosa*), on the left bank of the Iberus.

XXII. 4. *obsides*. See Bk. xxi. ch. xxi.

6. *fidem*, "allegiance."

7. *id agebat ut...esset*, "he made it his study," or, "he used all his endeavours to be."

10. *ex ea parte*, i. e. from the sea, or harbour side. The town itself was a mile from the sea.

12. a. *vult sibi...fidem*, "every one wishes to be trusted, and confidence reposed generally ensures free confidence in return." *ipsam fidem*. *Ipsam* is used to give precision; "free, full confidence."

b. *ut opera quoque...meum*, "that I may personally aid in the execution of my plan."—*et rei...adjiciam*, "and make as much more popular as I can, a proceeding sure to be popular of itself."

13. a. *non ad cætera Punica ingenia callido*, "not up to the rest of his countrymen in cunning." *ad*, (Gr.  $\pi\rho\delta$ ς,) denotes comparison. Cf. Bk. xxxviii. ch. liii., "Quid *ad* primum consulatum secundus," &c.

b. *conventis*, "having been met." See *Madv. Lat. Gramm.*, § 110, obs. 3.

16. a. *major aliquanto...poterat*, "the favour which the Romans thus won was much greater than in a similar case would have accrued to the Carthaginians, for they (the Carthaginians), as long as all went well with them, had been found by experience to be oppressive and haughty masters, and their becoming more lenient might have seemed to have been the effect of change of fortune and apprehension; but the Roman," &c.—*Romanorum*, *Carthaginiensium*, are both objective genitives.

b. *ab re clementi liberalique initium fecerat*, "had begun with a measure kind and liberal." Cf. *Polyb. iii. 99*.

XXIII. 2. a. *ab uno eo*, sc. *dictatoris agro*.

b. *plus reciperet*, sc. *captivorum*.

XXIV. 2. *pro ingenio ducis*, "in accordance with the temper of the commander."

3. *ferocius quam consultius*, "with more impetuosity than prudence."

4. *sciret*, sc. *hostis*.

6. *dejecissent*, "dislodged."—*ipsi*, the Romans.

7. a. *per aversa castra*, "through the camp at the back." See Bk. v. ch. xxix., "*per aversa urbis*," and Bk. xxiv. iii. 5.

b. *pars exercitus*, "a third of his army," which (see § 4) had been sent out to forage.

8. *Pœnum*. This, and the accusatives which are the subjects of the following sentences, to the end of the chapter, depend upon *quidam auctores sunt*.

10. *quinque admodum*, "about," or "quite as many as five." See Bk. xxi. ch. xxxvi. § 2.

XXV. 1. a. *M. Metellus*. There was a prætor of this name in B.C. 206, but the proceedings against Fabius are usually ascribed to M. Metilius, who is mentioned again Bk. xxv. ch. xxii.

b. *et in ducendo bello ac sedulo tempus terere*. *Ac* is omitted in most editions, and the sense is clear without it. If *ac* be genuine, we must suppose that the vehemence of the speaker leads him to change the construction of the sentence.

c. *consulum alterum*. Flaminius.

d. *alterum...procul ab Italia ablegatum*. Servilius. See ch. xi. § 6.

e. *duos prætores*, sc. T. Otacilius in Sicily, and Corn. Mammula in Sardinia.—*quorum neutra*, &c., "neither of whose provinces at this time required the presence of a prætor." The construction is harsh, but there is no need of any change.

f. *quo jam...concessum sit*, "from which, as from the



country beyond the Iberus, they had now retired before the Carthaginians." *Concedere* and *cedere* are constructed with dat., acc., or abl. See below, ch. xxvii. 3, a.

4. *nec tamen, &c.* The existence of another consul, together with the increased power of the *magister equitum*, would be, Metellus thought, sufficient to overrule the authority of Fabius.

5. a. *in actione*, "in pleading."

b. *ne in senatu quidem, &c.* "Even among his own party Fabius was not universally popular; he had magnified himself and his system somewhat offensively, and had spoken too harshly of the blunders of former generals." Arnold, iii. p. 126.

6. *bono imperatore.* The editions mostly have the dative.

8. *magis tacita...prodire*, "it was more the silent dislike to the dictator and favour towards the master of the horse which influenced men's minds, than that any were bold enough to come forward and advocate the measure, which was generally popular."

10. *ipsum instilorem mercis*, "who kept a shop to sell his own goods." The Romans carried on various lucrative occupations, but usually employed slaves as their agents, (*instilores*).

XXVI. 1. *prætura.* Varro was prætor in the preceding year; see note, Bk. xxi. ch. xvii. § 4. Besides this, he had been successively quæstor, and plebeian, and curule ædile. He was sprung from the lower classes, but "it is without example in Roman history that a mere demagogue, of no family, with no merits civil or military, should be raised to such nobility." Arnold, iii. p. 129.

2. *litteris senatus consulti*, "dispatches containing the decree of the senate." It is a very unusual expression,

XXVII. 1. a. *magistri equitum...soliti sunt*. See Bk. VIII. ch. xxii. et seqq.

b. *deorum hominumque iudicio*. *Deorum*, because they had given him (Minucius) success over Hannibal; *hominum*, for the senate's decree had shewn how unpopular Fabius's policy was.

3. a. *itaque se...cessurum*. The construction is, "itaque se volentem nunquam cessurum parte gerendarum rerum consilio qua posset (non cedere)." Lit., "he would never willingly withdraw from that share of conducting matters prudently, from which he could help withdrawing."

b. *ne se...divisurum*, "he would divide the army with him, but not the periods or days of command."

XXVIII. 1. *suo modo*, "in his own way," "as he pleased;" or, "in his usual way," i.e. *fraude atque insidiis*.

4. *natus tegendis insidiis*. See above, ch. iv. § 2.

6. *se sibi quisque...ad locum capiendum*. This punctuation is probably right, but instead of "*ad locum capiendum*," we should probably read *ac*. The only sense possible from the present text is, "with a view to the occupation of the place."

10. *recta*, "front to front."

11. *Sed exorti*. The order is, "*Sed insidiatores exorti repente, incursantes utrimque in latera ab tergoque fecerunt cum tumultum terroremque ut*," &c.

XXIX. 3. a. *conversi in hostem*, "facing about."—*volentes orbem*. So Bk. II. ch. 1., *orbem colligere*.

b. *palam ferente*, "plainly shewing." *ferre* is used in nearly the same sense in Bk. IV. ch. xiv. So perhaps above, ch. xiv. note 10.

4. *cum primum esse virum qui ipse consulat*. Hesiod, quoted by Arist. Eth. Nic. i. 2;—

οὗτος μὲν πυνάριστος ὅς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ,  
 ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κακείνος ὅς ἐδ' εἰπόντι πιθήται.  
 ὅς δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέῃ μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων  
 ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὁ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρήϊος ἀνὴρ.

**XXX. 2. *magistri equitum*:** supply *ordinem*, from the following.

4. *maximum laudibus...ferre*. Fabius was called the "shield," as Marcellus was the "sword," of Rome.

**XXXI. 1. a. *Cn. Servilius*.** See above, ch. xi. § 6.

b. *Menige insula*. The island Meninx lies very near the mainland of Africa, just south of the Syrtis Minor.—*Cercina* was an island just north of the Syrtis.

3. *Sempronio Blæso*. The name of Blæsus was one of ill omen to the Romans in these parts. In the first Punic war (B.C. 253), C. Sempronius Blæsus the consul, being in command of 260 ships, his fleet ran aground on the Syrtis, and was only got off by throwing everything overboard. 150 ships of the same fleet were afterwards lost on their way home, in a storm off Cape Palinurus.

5. a. *dictatorem*, as dictator, not pro-dictator.

b. *eo decursum esse...esset*, "recourse was had to the creation by the people of a pro-dictator." The nomination by a consul was essential to the due election of a dictator. The senate, in their decree that a dictator should be elected, usually named the person they wished to have; but the consul was not obliged to follow their nomination. In after times, Sylla was nominated by an interrex, and Cæsar by a prætor, but it was without precedent in both cases.

**XXXII. 1. a. *carpentes agmen*.** See Bk. III. ch. v.

b. *nisi cum fugæ specie abundum timuisset*, "if he had not feared that his departure would wear the appearance

of flight." Other editions read "nisi tum fugæ speciem abeundo timuisset."

3. a. *juxta...ac.* See above, ch. xxxi. § 1.

b. *ad subsidium fortunæ*, "a reserve in case of change of fortune."

XXXIII. 2. a. *Demetrius*. See Bk. xxi. ch. xvi. note d. After the capture of Pharos by L. Æmilius Paullus in B.C. 219, Demetrius fled for refuge to Philip, and became his chief adviser. After the battle of the Trasymene lake, he advised Philip to make alliance with Hannibal against Rome. The completion of this was delayed by the capture of the Macedonian envoy Xenophanes (Bk. xxiii. ch. xxxiii., xxxiv.), but was concluded in the year after the battle of Cannæ. The Roman demand for the surrender of Demetrius by Philip was unsuccessful.

b. *Pineum regem*. Pineus was the son of the Illyrian king Agron, who died in B.C. 231. At first he was left to the guardianship of Teuta, his step-mother, but upon her defeat by the Romans, he was committed to the care of Demetrius. On the expulsion of Demetrius, the Romans raised him to the throne, but obliged him to pay them tribute.

4. *locatam*, "let to contract."

6. *interregem*. The appointment of an *interrex* was a very unpopular measure, because no plebeians were admissible to the office. From this time there does not occur another instance of an *interregnum* until B.C. 82, when an *interrex* was appointed by the senate to hold the *comitia* for Sylla's election to the dictatorship.

XXXIV. 3. *in ejus interregno*, sc. P. Corn. Asina's. The authority of each *interrex* lasted for only five days.

At their first creation, there were *ten interreges*, but the number was afterwards, at various times, increased. The *comitia* were usually held by the second or third in the succession, seldom by the first.

4. *C. Terentio Varroni...homines*. This sentence is rendered difficult by the long parenthesis. The whole may be broken up in translation, and then the sense will be clear:—"That men might not grow accustomed by inveighing against them to think themselves as good as they, (*se...sibi* refer to *patres*), the patricians used all their efforts to oppose the election of C. Terentius Varro. He was one of the people's own sort, and had become ingratiated with them by his invectives against the aristocracy and other devices for winning favour. From the shock which had been given to Fabius's power as dictator, he was now in the blaze of his glory at the expense of another's popularity, and the commonalty were even exerting all their strength to bring him out for the consulship."—*aliena invidia*, "by throwing odium on another," in the same sense as *per invidiam eorum*, a little below.—*extra-here*: see Bk. v. ch. xii., "extractum ad tantum honorem." An invidious word, "to drag him out," as if by force, though utterly unfit for it. But see ch. xxvi. 1, note.

5. a. *id foedus, &c.*, "such was the league which had been struck between all the nobles."

b. *hominem novum*. A plebeian who first attained a curule office, was the founder of his family's *nobilitas*. Having no *imagines* he was called a *novus homo*, and his *status*, or condition, was called *novitas*. Marius and Cicero are the most famous instances of *novi homines*. Dict. of Antiq., p. 799. a.

c. *plebeios nobiles*, opposed to *hominem novum*. Men of plebeian origin, but whose ancestors had held curule offices,

d. *populum liberum habiturum*, ac. *consulatum*. The meaning is that the people would hold the consulship at their own free disposal.

XXXV. 1. *C. Terentius consul unus creatur*. There were six candidates, but Varro alone of them all obtained a sufficient number of votes in any tribe to be returned.

2. a. *qui cum M. Livio consul fuerat*. In the year B.C. 212. *Æmilius* was a good soldier, and had finished the Illyrian war in a single campaign. He was very unpopular, and had been charged, unjustly it would seem, with misappropriation of the spoils taken in the Illyrian war, and with difficulty escaped condemnation. *M. Livius*, his colleague, was not so fortunate: he was condemned and fined. The sentence was an unjust one, and *Livius* was so disgusted with the wrong, that for some years he withdrew entirely from Rome. The need of the State at last drew him forward again, and in B.C. 207 he accepted the consulship, as colleague with *C. Nero*, and with him shared the glory of defeating *Hasdrubal* at the *Metaurus*.

b. *sua prope*. These two words must be taken closely together. *Æmilius* had escaped condemnation, but only narrowly.

3. a. *M'. Pomponius Matho*. He had been nominated *magister equitum* to *Veturius Philo*. See ch. xxxiii. § 7. At the end of his office as *prætor*, he was sent to Cisalpine Gaul as *proprætor* (B.C. 215), and in B.C. 214 that province was continued to him. Bk. xxiv. ch. x. 'There is a difficulty in reconciling the statement in Bk. xxiii. ch. xxv., that no army was sent to Gaul in B.C. 215, with this. Perhaps *Matho* was appointed to the province, but did not obtain any troops that year.

b. *P. Furius Philus* had been consul with *Flaminius* in B.C. 228. He was now elected *prætor peregrinus*. He

was severely wounded in an engagement on the coast of Africa, Bk. xxiii. ch. xxi. He died censor B.C. 214. Bk. xxiv. ch. xi. and xliii.

c. *M. Claudius Marcellus*. This is the first mention of Marcellus as an actor in this war. As his services will occur very prominently, it will be as well, once for all, to give a short outline of them. Marcellus was consul for the first time B.C. 222, when he was nearly fifty years old. It was the time of the Gallic war, and he gained the *spolia opima*, and a triumph. In B.C. 216 (the present occasion) he was made prætor, and was intended to command in Sicily; but the disaster of Cannæ detained him in Italy, and he was sent to collect the remnants of the defeated army, and make what head he could against Hannibal. He saved Nola (Bk. xxiii. ch. xiv.—xvii.), but could not undertake more active operations. In B.C. 215 he resumed the command in Campania as proconsul, (Bk. xxiii. ch. xxx.,) his election to the consulship in place of Postumius having been declared invalid. A second successful defence of Nola was his chief exploit this year (Bk. xxiii. ch. xli.—xlii.) In B.C. 214 Marcellus was chosen consul for the third time, with Fabius Maximus. A third defence of Nola and the capture of Casilinum were the chief events in which he was concerned this year (Bk. xxiv. ch. xiii., xix.); towards the close of the summer he was sent into Sicily, where the storming of Leontini (Bk. xxiv. ch. xxx.), and the siege, and finally the capture, of Syracuse in B.C. 212, made him further conspicuous. In B.C. 211 Marcellus returned to Italy, was consul for the fourth time in B.C. 210, and in this year took Salapia, and engaged Hannibal without disadvantage, though with no decisive success. In B.C. 209 he retained the command of his army in Italy as proconsul. Three engagements took place early this year between Marcellus and Hannibal; in the last it is said the

Romans were victorious, but if they were, their losses were so great that they were unable to follow up their victory, and Hannibal remained still master of the country. The next year, B.C. 208, witnessed Marcellus' fifth consulship and death. He had advanced from Venusia to reconnoitre the enemy, fell into an ambushade of Numidians, and was slain.

d. *L. Postumius Albinus*. The same who had been consul in B.C. 234, and again in B.C. 229. He was elected consul again for B.C. 215, but did not live to enter upon his office. He and his army were destroyed by the Boii, in the forest Litana. See Bk. xxiii. ch. xxiv.

XXXVI. 1. a. *numero...auctas*. See Bk. xxi. ch. xvii. 4, a. In construction the sentence depends upon *alii auctores sunt*. "They say also that the legions were augmented in respect of the number of their foot and horse." *numero*. For this abl., see Madv. Lat. G., § 253. *millibus* is used substantively, "a thousand foot."

b. *quadringeni equites*. Some editions have *treceni*, but three hundred was the usual number of cavalry in a legion.

c. *socii duplicem numerum equitum darent*. It has been doubted whether the cavalry of the allies was not treble that of the Romans, instead of double. The doubt arises from Polyb. iii. 107. 13, where he says that the infantry of the allied contingents equalled that of the Romans, but that their cavalry were generally thrice as numerous (*ὡς ἐπίπαν τριπλάσιον*). But in another place, where he speaks of the numbers of the legion (vi. 26. 7), the texts vary between *τριπλάσιον* and *διπλάσιον*, and on the whole it seems likely that Livy's positive statement here is to be accepted.

d. *peditis æquarent*, i. e. *æquarent numerum peditis*. Other editions read *pedites*.



6. *septem... Cannas*. The numbers correspond exactly with the preceding statements. There were eight legions, consisting each of 5,000 Roman and 5,000 allied infantry, = 80,000. Each of these legions further consisted of 300 Roman (= 2,400) and 600 allied cavalry (= 4,800). Therefore,  $80,000 + 2,400 + 4,800 = 87,200$  in all.

3. a. *cruore signa*, &c. See Bk. xxiii. ch. xxxi. § 16.

b. *Via Fornicata*, a street leading to the Campus Martius, so called probably from the triumphal arches (*fornix*) built across it.

XXXVII. 1. *Ostia*. Some read *Ostiam*. The name is found in both declensions. *Ostia-æ*, or *Ostia-orum*.

4. *pondo*. Bk. xxi. ch. lxii. The *libra* (which is the weight to be understood here) was about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a pound avoirdupois.

5. *modium*. The *modius* was equal to a very little less than a peck.

6. *Milite*, opposed to *equite*, and used here and in some other places for *pedite*.

9. *aurum*. See ch. xxxii.

XXXVIII. 2. *milles tum, quod nunquam antea factum erat, jurejurando ab tribunis militum adacti*, &c. See Bk. iii. ch. xx., where the soldiers are said to have taken the *jusjurandum*. But Livy forgot this. The usual military oath was called *sacramentum*; it was taken voluntarily, and was of a less formal nature than a *jusjurandum*. Its purport was that the soldiers *jussu consulum conventuros neque injussu abituros*; this oath was always taken. What then is meant by saying that the soldiers were now for the first time *jurejurando adacti*? Either we must suppose that the customary *sacramentum*, by its being enforced by the tribunes, or by some unusual formalities in the manner of its imposition, was converted into a *jusjurandum*, or the *jusjurandum* consisted, in the addition to the usual oath, of

the formula "sese fugæ atque formidinis erge non abituros, neque ex ordine recessuros, nisi teli sumendi, aut petendi, et aut hostis ferendi, aut civis servandi causâ."

3. *ad decuriatum aut centuriatum*, "to be told off into their decuries or centuries respectively." See Bk. vi. ch. ii.

5. *perfecturum* = *confecturum*, so. *bellum*.

7. *ad id locorum*. See Bk. ix. ch. xlv.

8. *id perseveraret*. *In eo perseverare* would be more frequent; the simple ace. after this verb is very rare.

XXXIX. 1. *fide vestra*; either = *secundum fidem vestram*, or it may be an expression borrowed from the language of a *senatus-consultum*, in which the officer employed was charged "*videre quod e republicâ fideque suâ esse censeret*."

2. *claudet*, from *claudio*, = *claudicet*, which is the more frequent reading.

3. *nescio an...et, cum illo...oppugnaturus*. The sense of this passage as the text stands is, "I know not whether Varro will not prove a more dangerous adversary than Hannibal; with the one you will have to contend only on the field of battle, but with the other at all times and places; against Hannibal and his legions you will contend with your horse and foot, but Varro will assail you at the head of your own soldiers." In accordance with this, the whole passage may be better arranged as follows: "*nescio, an infestior hic adversarius quam ille hostis maneat: cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus certaturus es: et adversus Hannibalem legionesque ejus tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum tibi est: Varro dux tuis militibus te est oppugnaturus*."—*hic...ille, illo...hoc*. *Hic* and *hoc* refer here to Terentius: *ille...illo* to Hannibal. See Bk. xxiv. ch. xxix. § 2.

5. *nec gloriandi...excesserim*. The difficulty of this place

is chiefly in the meaning of *adversus unum*. Some understand Varro to be signified, as it is rendered in the quaint old translation of Philemon Holland, "But it is no time now to stand upon these tearmes, and to glorifie myselfe in comparison of this one person;" others refer it to Paullus Æmilius, as if = *coram te uno*. *Ut ego...excesserim*, "how I," &c. Some editions have *et ego*, which seems better.

6. *Id jam*, &c., "they have already given us proof of this," &c.

7. *quamdiu pro Gereonii*. See above, ch. xviii., xxiv., and xxxii. § 1. Hannibal had been kept inactive at Geronium nearly all the winter and spring, by the tactics of Fabius and his successors.

8. *laborare*, opposed to *exstingui*. It is used figuratively of anything darkened or eclipsed. Cic. Tusc. i. 38, 92. So *labores*, Virg. Æn. i. 742:—

"Hic canit errantem lunam, solisque labores."

9. *timidum pro cauto*, &c. See above, ch. xii. § 6.

10. *suam occasionem*. See ch. xxviii. § 1, "*se suo modo captaturum*."

XL. 1. *semustum*. See ch. xxxv. § 2, note.

3. *M. Atilium...Romam miserunt*. Polyb., iii. 114, 116, says that Atilius fell at Cannæ, but he makes a mistake: Atilius is mentioned again, Bk. xxiii. ch. xxi., as one of the *triumviri mensarii*; and again, Bk. xxiv. ch. xi., as having been elected censor.

4. *maturitas temporum*, "the ripening of the corn in its season." Others render "a good opportunity."—*Ut...superesset...fuerit...foret*. These tenses make the passage difficult. *Fuerit* cannot, like *superesset*, depend upon *ut*, but the sentence *Hispanorum...fuerit* must be understood as a

sort of additional remark, occurring to the writer at the moment.

**XLI. 3. a. *fortuna publica privataque.*** *Fortuna*, "property," "stores," either belonging to the state or army at large (*publica*), or to individual officers (*privata*).

**b. *impedimenta...medium agmen*, i.e. "ut essent medium agmen."**

**4. *ut fides fieret*, &c.** The order is, "ut fides fieret voluisse tenere consules in locis, dum ipse præciperet," &c.

**XLII. 3. *etiam atque etiam.*** See above, ch. xiii.

**6. a. *sua sponte...quoque.*** Paulus was himself opposed to an advance, and the unfavourableness of the omens confirmed his judgment.

**b. *pulli.*** The sacred chickens kept especially for auspices on military expeditions. When the auspices were to be taken, a piece of cake or other food was thrown to these chickens; if they refused to feed, or flew away, the omen was bad; if they ate greedily, it was good. It was to his contempt of these sacred birds that the memorable defeat of P. Claudius Pulcher was ascribed.

**c. *Addixissent.*** *Addicere* is an augural word used of an omen which *assents*, or is *propitious*. In construction it is usually absolute. See Bk. I. ch. xxxvi., and xxvii. ch. xvi.—*Auspicio*, abl. for *in auspicio*.

**7. *Claudii Consulis...navalis clades.*** In the first Punic war, B.C. 249. See Epitome of Bk. xix. ch. xl., or Arnold's Hist. of Rome, vol. ii. p. 607. See also Cic. de Nat. D. ii. 3.

**9. a. *consules imperii potentes fecit*, "enabled the consuls to use their authority," "gave effect to their authority." See Bk. viii. ch. xiii.**

**b. *alterius*: Varro.—*apud eos*: we can hardly understand**

anything but *milites*, though the omission is certainly very harsh.

XLIII. 3. *de transizione*. See above, ch. xl. § 4.—*Galliam*: Cisalpine Gaul. See ch. xvii. § 4.

4. *movere inde in calidiora, &c.* The corn was now ripening fast in the warmer plains of Apulia. "Hannibal broke up from before Geronium, descended into the Apulian plains, and whilst the Roman army was still in its winter position, he threw himself on its rear, and surprised its great magazine at Cannæ." Arnold, from Polyb. iii. 107.

7. *aversa a Volturmo vento*, i.e. facing north-west. The Vulturinus was a wind so-called from Mount Vultur, and is probably the same as the *Scirocco*.

XLIV. 2. a. *aditum aquatoribus, &c.*, "The Aufidus flowing near both the camps, afforded to the watering parties access to its banks, more or less convenient according to their respective positions."

b. *ex minoribus castris*. This camp was formed by Æmilius on the left bank of the Aufidus, fronting Hannibal on the western bend of the reach, within which the battle was fought.

c. *trans Aufidum*. On the opposite side of the Aufidus to that on which Hannibal's camp was. See ch. xxvi. § 4.

4. *hic*: Varro.—*ille*: Æmilius.—*usu cepisset. usu capere*, is "to acquire a right and title to anything by long use or possession."

XLV. 1. *trans flumen*, i.e. across from the right or southern, to the left bank, where the lesser Roman camp was. The Aufidus was a small river easily fordable, in the dry season, at almost any point.

2. *inconditam turbam*, i.e. the *aquatores*.

4. a. *postero die*. On the second of August according to

the Roman calendar, but the Roman reckoning was probably six or seven weeks in advance of the true season.

b. *copias flumen traduxit*. Varro now led his forces across from the larger camp on the south side of the river, and formed a junction with the troops of the lesser camp. The general course of the Aufidus is from south-west to north-east, but near Cannæ it makes a very large reach to the south. Within the bend formed by this reach, on the northern bank, was the battle-field. The larger Roman camp was on the southern bank, about a mile higher up the river than the lesser camp, which was on the northern bank, just where the bend to the south begins. Hannibal's camp was at the south-eastern corner of the bend, a little distance from the stream. When the two armies were drawn up, Hannibal's line faced nearly north, with its flanks resting on the curve of the river. The Romans stood on the chord of the arc, facing nearly south, their flanks likewise resting on the river. Arnold takes a different view of the field of battle, and supposes that it was on the *southern* side of the Aufidus, (see his History, vol. iii. pp. 137—143,) between Cannæ and Canusium.

XLVI. 3. *Gallis Hispanisque scuta ejusdem formæ erant*. Their shields were long, but not wide.

4. *alius habitus : alius = reliquus*. See ch. lvi. note 4.

6. *Hasdrubal*. His name does not occur after this time in Polybius or Livy.

7. *ventus...multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo*. In this part of Apulia the sea breeze rises pretty regularly at noon. Niebuhr thinks it quite probable that Hannibal may have so arranged his men as to take advantage of this wind blowing the dust into the faces of the enemy. There is a story that he even caused the ground to be ploughed ; but this is of course mere fable.

XLVII. 1. *ad evagandum*, to spread out, so as to attack in flank.

4. a. *constabant*, "stood firm," "kept their ground."

b. *impulere hostium cuneum...ab tergo hostes*, "The Roman columns on the right and left, finding the Gaulish and Spanish foot advancing in a convex line or wedge, pressed forwards to assail what seemed the flanks of the enemy's column; so that being already drawn up with too narrow a front by their original formation, they now became compressed still more by their own movements, the right and left converging towards the centre, till the whole army became one dense column, which forced its way onwards by the weight of its charge, and drove back the Gauls and Spaniards into the rear of their own line. Meanwhile its victorious advance had carried it into the midst of Hannibal's army; it had passed between the African infantry on its right and left; and now whilst its head was struggling against the Gauls and Spaniards, its long flanks were fiercely assailed by the Africans, who, facing about to the right and left, charged it home, and threw it into utter disorder." Arnold, iii. pp. 142, 143.

c. *æquavit frontem*, "fell back so as to form a level front."

XLVIII. 2. *Quingenti ferme Numidæ*. Polybius knows nothing of this, and the whole story is a fiction.

4. *Hasdrubal, qui ea jam parte præerat*. Hasdrubal's post was on the left wing with the Gauls and Spaniards; but after having almost destroyed the Roman right wing, he had ridden across to his own right to aid the Numidians who had been skirmishing indecisively with the Italian cavalry. Having effected this, he next wheeled round and completed the ruin of the Romans by breaking in upon their rear, while they were still engaged with the Gaulish and Spanish foot in front.

XLIX. 2. a. *Equitum pedestre proelium...poterant*. These horsemen fought on foot, the victory of the enemy being no longer doubtful, in such sort as might have been expected; for being vanquished, they chose to die where they stood rather than flee, and the victors, angry at their delaying the completion of the victory, slew those whom they could not put to flight.

b. *mori in vestigio*. See Bk. xxi. ch. xxxv. § 10.

4. a. *prætervehens equo*, "riding by." *Prætervehens* is from *prætervehor*, a deponent verb. The more usual expression is *prætervectus equo*.

b. *reus iterum e consulatu*. See note, ch. xxxv. 2. a.

7. a. *nulli fugientium insertus agmini*, i. e. neither of the three bodies of men just mentioned.—*insertus*: the text is very uncertain; editions vary between *infestus*, which gives no sense, and *immistus*.

b. *quadraginta quinque millia, &c.* Livy's estimate of the loss of the Romans is the lowest. Polybius reckons it at 70,000 slain. In ch. lix. it is estimated in round numbers at 50,000.

c. *tanta prope civium sociorumque pars*. The proportion of Roman citizens and allies was nearly the same.

d. *aliquot annis ante consul*. In the year B.C. 221.

L. 1. a. *Aliensi cladi*. See Bk. v. ch. xxxviii.

b. *alterius morientis prope totus exercitus fuit*, "almost all the army followed the example of the other consul, and perished."—*morientis...fuit*: see a similar construction, Bk. xxi. ch. ii. 1, "*adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibalis erat*."

2. *nuntium...mittunt*, i. e. to those in the lesser camp on the other side of the river.

5. a. *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*. Two years after this, Sempronius was curule ædile (Bk. xxiv, ch. xliii.), and the



year after (B.C. 218) prætor, at Ariminum (Bk. xxiv. ch. xlv.) He captured the town of Aternum, or Atrinum (Bk. xxiv. ch. xlvii.), and was continued in his office for the two following years. In B.C. 209 he was censor, and in B.C. 204 consul, with the conduct of the war in South Italy against Hannibal. He was repulsed with some loss before Croton, but shortly after gained a complete victory over Hannibal, who was obliged to seek shelter within the walls of the town. (Bk. xxix. ch. xxxvi.)

b. *ut ex tua contumelia, &c.* Hannibal had always dismissed without ransom his Latin captives, while he retained the Romans as prisoners of war until exchanged or ransomed. See below, ch. lviii.

c. *non tu, sed. ita facies.*

d. *qui se bene mori maluit*: a pleonasm for *qui bene mori maluit*. Cf. Cic. in Cat. i. 2, "Cupio me esse clementem."

8. a. *ad sexcenti*, "about six hundred." *Ad* is here used as an adverb, without having any influence on the case. See Bk. iv. ch. lix., and inf., ch. lii.; Madv. Lat. Gram., § 172, obs. 2.

b. *Cannusium* (*Cannæ*), about nine miles south-west of Cannæ, near the right bank of the Aufidus. It bears a good name for its fidelity to Rome, and the kindness with which it received the remnants of the defeated army.

LI. 3. *Hannibali nimis lata, res est visa, &c.* There can be very little doubt that Hannibal estimated the chances rightly, in not yielding to Maharbal's wish. The distance was quite two hundred miles, and no part of the army but the cavalry could possibly have reached Rome in a week. Unless the surprise could have been perfectly complete, which is very improbable, the Romans would only have had to shut their gates, and they would have been safe from any immediate danger.

7. *stricta*, "drawn together," "pinched."

9. *quos sibi...apparebat*, "It was evident that they had themselves made pits in the ground, and burying their faces in the earth, had suffocated themselves."

10. *exspirasset*, sc. *Romanus*, although the change of subject is certainly very harsh.

LII. 1. *Brachio flumini objecto eos excludit*. A *brachium* in military language means any outwork, whether a building or a ditch. Here the meaning is, that Hannibal, by means of some work (probably a ditch) thrown between the camp and the stream, shut the Romans out from the river. Many editions have *flumine*, and change the order of the words to *brachio objecto, flumine eos excludit*. If *flumini* be retained, it must be taken after *objecto*.

3. *pacti...acceperunt*. The order of this sentence is very much involved. It seems to be "*pacti* (sc. *Romani*) *ut arma atque equos traderent, et ut eo pretio persoluto (nempe) in capita Romana trecentis nummis quadrigatis, in socios ducenis, in servos centenis, cum singulis abirent vestimentis, in castra hostes acceperunt*." The *nummi quadrigati* = silver denarii, stamped with a *quadriga*; their value was about 8½d. Sometimes the image of a *biga* was stamped upon the coin instead of the *quadriga*. See Bk. xxiii. ch. xv.

5. *nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur*. Either, "for they used very little table-plate, especially as they were engaged in active service;" or, as some render it more generally, "for men at that time, especially when engaged in service," &c.

LIII. 1. a. *Fabius Maximus*, elder son of *Fabius Cunctator*. We find him *prætor* in B.C. 214, (Bk. xxiv. ch. ix.) In B.C. 213 he was *consul*, and his father served as *legatus* under him, (Bk. xxiv. ch. xlv.)

b. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the great Africanus; his name has already occurred, Bk. xxi. ch. xlv.

c. *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*. His name will occur frequently in connexion with the war in Sicily in B.C. 215—213. He served there first as prætor, and afterwards as proprætor and legatus to Marcellus, (Bk. xxiii. ch. xxiv., xxx., xxxi., and Bk. xxiv. ch. x., xxi., &c.) He was consul in B.C. 212, and undertook the siege of Capua, in the course of which he was wounded in battle, and died shortly after the city was taken.

d. *admodum adolescentem*. See Bk. xxi. ch. xlv. note b.

2. *L. Cæcilium Metellum*. In consequence of his baseness Metellus was afterwards degraded by the censors, (Bk. xxiv. ch. xviii.) He afterwards, as tribune of the plebs, threatened to impeach the censors, but was prevented by the other tribunes, (Bk. xxiv. ch. xliii.)

3. *fatalis = fato destinatus*. See Bk. v. ch. xix.

4. *ex mei animi sententia...patiar*: "I solemnly swear for myself that I will neither abandon the state of the Roman people, nor permit any other Roman citizen to do so." The form is elliptical: fully expressed, it would be, "*ex mei animi sententia precor, ita me dii juvent ut,*" &c. See Bk. xliii. ch. xv.

LIV. 2. *arma quibus deerant dederunt*, i. e. *dederunt arma* (iis) *quibus arma deerant*.

5. *ei, sc. Varroni*.

7. *salva urbe*. The panic was as terrible in the great Gaulish invasion, but then the city itself was taken and burnt.

8. *edissertando*, "by relating in detail."

9. *a. multiplex clades*. The defeat at Cannæ was not merely one more wound in addition to that inflicted on the

state the year before, but a disaster as great as many defeats put together.

b. *nec ulla...esse*. The construction is changed, and we must supply *nuntiabatur*.

10. *vectigales ac stipendiarios*. See Bk. xxi. ch. xli. 2. b.

LV. 1. a. *M'. Pomponius*, brother of the M. Pomponius mentioned above, ch. vii.

b. *in curiam Hostiliam*. "Principes Albanorum in patres ...legit (Tullus),.....templumque ordini ab se aucto curiam fecit, quæ Hostilia usque ad patrum nostrorum ætatem adpellata est." Bk. i. ch. xxx.

2. *nondum palam facto*, sc. *qui vivi quive mortui essent*.

4. *sux...expectent*. They were to wait at their several homes until some one brought them tidings of the fortune of their friends or relations.

LVI. 1. a. *in hanc sententiam pedibus issent*, "had adopted this opinion." See Bk. ix. ch. viii. The expression arose from the practice of the Senate-house,—the members who had not spoken being accustomed to pass over to the benches of those with whom they concurred.

b. *nundinantem*, "chaffering."

2. *sacrum anniversarium Cereris*. A festival celebrated with games in the Circus Maximus. The matrons could not appear at this festival except clothed in white; hence on occasions of public mourning it could not be held.

4. *Provinciam aliam*. *Aliam* here = *reliquam*. Cf. Bk. vii. ch. xxvi., and Bk. xxi. ch. xxvii. 3. *Alius* only takes this sense when the contrasted objects together compose one whole.

LVII. 1. *qui...præisset*, "being in command of," i. e.,

*because* he was. Perhaps his being so near at hand, and already holding a command, are among the reasons implied.

2. a. *uti mos est*. Stoning was inflicted by the law of Numa, burial alive by that of Tarquinius Priscus. The offender, stripped of all badge of office, and attired like a corpse, was conducted to the *Campus Sceleratus*, and there in a small vault, furnished with a couch, lamp, table, and a little food, immured and left to perish. See Bk. VIII. ch. 15; see also Scott's *Marmion*, canto ii. 23—33.

b. *scriba pontificis, quos nunc, &c.* The scribes or secretaries of the pontifices after a while came to be considered as an inferior order of priests. See Dict. of Antiq., under *Pontifex*. The relative *quos* must be referred to some antecedent implied in the preceding clause, as if, e. g. it had been written "*ex scribis pontificis quos,*" &c.

3. Q. *Fabius Pictor*. See above, ch. vii.

4. a. *Gallus et Galla, Græcus et Græca*. An oracle had promised the occupation of the city to these nations.

b. *jam ante*. The sacrifice is said to have been made at the beginning of the last Gallic war. Pliny mentions another which occurred as late as his own time.

6. *prætextatos*, i. e. below the age of fifteen.

7. a. *ex formula*. See note d, Bk. XXI. ch. xvii., and Bk. XXVII. ch. x.

b. *vetera spolia, ... detrahunt templis*. See Bk. XXIV. ch. xxi. § 7.

8. *vellentne militare*: hence these were called afterwards *volones*, Bk. XXIII. ch. xxxv.—*et emptæ publicæ*; *et* is superfluous.

LVIII. 1. *sicut ante*. See ch. vii. § 4.

2. *quadrigatos*. See above, ch. lii. note 3.

4. a. *animos, &c. Romanorum*,

b. *unus ex his*. Polybius tells the same story, vi. 58. So Cic. De Off. i. 18; but Acilius (mentioned by Cic. De Off. iii. 82) wrote "*plures fuisse qui in castra revertissent, eadem fraude ut jurejurando liberarentur.*" See ch. lxi.

LIX. 4. a. *ac a Gallis aure redemisse*. See Bk. v. ch. xlviii.

b. *legatos*; C. Fabricius and others.—*Tarentum*. This refers to the famous embassy of Fabricius (B.C. 280), to obtain from Pyrrhus an interchange of prisoners taken in the battle of Heraclea.

c. *nec supersumus nisi, &c.*, "and we survive only because," &c.

7. *premiendo*. See above, ch. xii. § 6.

8. a. *nec majore pretio*, "and it will not cost more to ransom us than to purchase them,"

b. *nam si*, "I take only the money view of the matter, for if," &c. Some such thought as this may be supplied.

9. *tamen*, "notwithstanding all I have urged."

10. *me dius fidius*. See Bk. II. ch. xxxi. Fidius is a surname of Jupiter, and the whole expression = "me deus Fidius servet."

LX. 2. *necessitas*. Either the "ties of relationship," or, the "public distress." The former is best.

3. a. *pecuniam mutuam*, "a loan."

b. *prædibus ac prædiis*. A *præs* was any one who gave security for another in a civil action; and a *prædium* was originally any property given in security by a *præs*. Hence *prædibus ac prædiis cavendum populo* means that the people were to be secured from loss by bondsmen (sureties) and their property. Such property was usually land, and hence the common acceptance of *prædium*,

c. *cavendum populo*. See Bk. vii. ch. xxi.

d. *sententiam*, to be taken after *interrogatus*. See Bk. xxxii. ch. xxiii.

e. *eorum*, to be taken after *ullius*, not after *sententiam*.

8. a. *P. Decius tribunus militum*. The circumstance alluded to occurred in the Samnite war, B.C. 343. See Bk. vii. ch. xxxv., xxxvi. The consul M. Valerius Corvus had allowed himself to be surrounded by the enemy, and destruction seemed certain, when Decius with 1,600 men seized and held a height which commanded the way by which the Samnites were advancing to attack the main body of the Romans.

b. *Calpurnius Flamma*. His exploit was the extrication, with only three hundred men, of a consular army in Sicily from a defile in which it had entangled itself. The deed is, however, variously attributed to several other persons.

10. *deminuti capite*: *caput* is used to signify a man's civil condition; any one who changed from a higher to an inferior condition was said to be *capitis minor* (Hor. Od. iii. 5. 42), or, *capite deminutus*. And of this *deminutio capitis* there were three degrees:—(1), *maxima*, which was the change from the state of a free man into that of a slave; (2), *media*, the change from the condition of a *civis* into that of a *peregrinus*, or *Latinus*; (3), *minima*, or *minor*, as when a *pater-familias* passed, by any means, into the condition of a *filius familias*. The *deminutio maxima* is intended here.

14. a. *fuisse*, sc. *fortes*.—*ut*, “when.”

b. *non invidere*, “feel no jealousy at.”—*quum incolumitati*, &c., for if they do (he means to say), it is not likely that they will be *boni fidelesque* towards them.

LXI. 5. *omni deinde vita*, “all their lives afterwards.”

8. a. *Defecere autem*, Livy mentions these peoples as

though they had joined Hannibal immediately after his victory. A portion of the Apulians, Samnites, and Lucanians did so. It was a year before the Crotonians and Locrians came over (Bk. xxiii. ch. xxx.), two years before the Tarentines did so (Bk. xxiv. ch. xiii.), and four years before the Metapontines (Bk. xxv. ch. xv.)

• b. *Bruttii omnes*. Not the people of Petelia and Rhegium. See Bk. xxiii. ch. xx. and xxx.





## ANALYSIS OF BOOK XXIII.

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**B.C. 216. Results of Cannæ.** Hannibal moves into Samnium; and from thence, leaving Mago to excite the disaffected, advances to Naples, but is deterred from attacking it by the strength of the defences, (ch. i.)

**CAPUA.** Bar to its revolt. Deputation to Varro (Pacuvius Calavius). His impolitic reply. Vibius Virrius. Deputation to Hannibal. Opposition of Decius Magius. Hannibal received at Capua. Pacuvius and his son Perolla. Fate of Decius Magius, (ii—x.)

**Return of Q. Fabius Pictor from Delphi with the answer of the oracle, (xi.)**

**Mago arrives at Carthage with tidings of Cannæ and demand for reinforcements. Fruitless opposition of Hanno. Supplies unanimously voted, (xi—xiii.)**

**Hannibal baffled a second time before Naples. Surrender of Nola by the people prevented by the approach of Marcellus. Hannibal draws off and takes Nuceria. Marcellus at NOLA. L. Bantius. Repulse of Hannibal from Nola. He occupies and plunders Acerræ, (xiv—xvii.)**

**CASILINUM.** Hannibal commences its siege. Its obstinate defence continued through the winter. (Hannibal's winter-quarters at Capua.) Failure of Roman attempts to relieve it. Fall of Casilinum in the spring of B.C. 215. Reward of the garrison, (xviii., xix.)

**ROME.** The Petelians send to demand help. Answers of the Senate, (xx.) Despatches of Otacilius from Sicily, and of C. Mammula from Sardinia, requiring money and supplies. (None can be sent. Generosity of Hiero in Sicily, and the *sociæ civitates* in Sardinia.) Appointment of triumviri mensarii, duumviri, and pontifices. Debate *de explendo senatu*. Proposal of Sp. Carvilius. - Answer of T. Manlius. M. Fabius Buteo dictator. His measures, (xxi—xxiii.)

**Events in GAUL.** Destruction of Postumius (consul elect for B.C. 215), and his army at the *Sylva Litana*. *Galliam omitti eo anno placuit*; (xxiv., xxv.)

**Events in SPAIN.** Hasdrubal engaged in quelling a revolt of the Tartesii. His stores captured by them at Ascua. He surprises the enemy in their success. Rumour that Hasdrubal was to be sent into Italy. Effect of this rumour in Spain. Arrival of Himilco to succeed him. Preparations of Hasdrubal for departure. His defeat and detention in Spain, (xxvi—xxx.)

**B.C. 215.** Id. Mart. Consuls—Tib. Semp. Gracchus, and, in the room of L. Postumius, M. Claud. Marcellus, but he having been declared *vitio creatus*, Q. Fabius Maximus is chosen in his place.

**Prætors**—Q. Fulvius Flaccus, *prætor urbanus*; M. Valerius Lævinus, *peregrinus*; App. Claudius Pulcher, for Sicily; Q. Mucius Scævola, for Sardinia.

Fabius was to take the dictator's army; Sempronius was to have a newly levied army of *volones* and *socii*; Marcellus with a proconsular army was to occupy his old post near Nola, and all three were to co-operate as occasion might require in Campania. Varro was sent as proconsul into Picenum, with instructions to raise levies and guard the south-eastern roads. The taxes were doubled for the year, (xxx—xxxii.)

**MACEDON.** Philip's envoys to Hannibal intercepted and taken to the prætor Valerius. Xenophanes succeeds in reaching Hannibal, and concludes a treaty with him, but is intercepted again on his way back to Philip, and sent to Rome, (xxxiii., xxxiv.) Measures in consequence, (xxxviii.) Second embassy of Philip to Hannibal, (*ibid.*)

**SARDINIA.** Sickness of Q. Mucius. Threatening state of the province. Q. Fulv. Flaccus appoints T. Manlius Torquatus to the command of the island, (xxxiv.); he lands and decides the campaign in a single battle, (xl., xli.)

**CAMPANIA.** Gracchus surprises the Campanians at Hamæ (xxxv.), and retires to Cumæ. Hannibal pursues him, but retires again to his camp at Tifata, having sustained some loss, (xxxvi.)

Successes of Tib. Semp. Longus at Grumentum, and M. Valerius, (xxxvii.)

Devastations of Marcellus in Samnium. Samnites appeal to Hannibal for aid. His reply. He and Hanno (*ex Bruttis*) summon Nola to surrender. Answer of Herennius Bassus. Attack on the place repulsed with loss. Hannibal retires into Apulia, and the campaign ends without anything more of importance in Italy, (xlii—xlvi.)

SPAIN. Demand of the Scipios for supplies. Debate in the senate, and resolutions. Siege of Iliturgis by the Carthaginian leaders raised by Scipio. Revolt of Spanish tribes to the Romans, (xlviii., xlix.)

## BOOK XXIII.

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I. 1. a. *Et Hannibal*. There is another reading, "*Æcis Hannibal post Cannensem pugnam captis ac direptis*," &c. *Æcæ* was an Apulian town. It is mentioned again, as captured by Fabius, Bk. xxiv. ch. xx.

b. *Compsam*. *Compsa* (now *Conza*) is a strong town overlooking the valley near the main source of the *Aufidus*. It was retaken from Hannibal by Fabius, B.C. 214. Bk. xxiv. ch. xx.

3. a. *detrectantes*, sc. *defectionem*.

b. *mare inferum*. The sea on the west coast of Italy, from *Liguria* to *Sicily*, was called by the Greeks *mare Tyrrhenum*. The common Roman name was *mare Inferum*, distinguishing it from the upper sea, *mare Superum*, the *Hadriatic*, on the eastern side.

7. *maenia haudquaquam prompta oppugnanti*. Compare Bk. xxiv. ch. xxxvii., "*præfectum præsidii haud sane opportunum insidiantibus*."

II. 3. a. *summo magistratu*. The chief magistrate was called '*medixtricus*.' See Bk. xxvi. ch. vi.

b. *ut traderet*, "even to the extent of delivering up," &c. The subject is *plebs*; the nominative (*is*, with which the sentence begins) is taken up again at *improbis homo*, and the verb is *rationem init*.

4. *Romæ*, genitivus loci.—*Nuptum*, supine, “to be married.”—*quum præfatus esset....cæterum....instare*: an anacoluthon; to remove it we may consider *cæterum* as redundant, and understand a verb, e.g. *confirmat* or *ait* from *præfatus esset*.

5. *vacuam rempublicam* = *orbatam publico consilio*, above, § 3.

III. 1. *eam*, sc. *potestatem*.

4. *hos...odistis senatores*. *Hos* emphatic, “It is these senators that you dislike.”

5. *cooptetis*: *cooptare* is used of a society electing members to fill up vacancies.

8. *ipsum*. The senator whose lot had fallen out.

12. a. *ipsius pœnitere homines*, “that the people disliked the man personally.” *Ipsius*, like *ipsum* in the preceding note.

b. *nihil aliud quam ad audienda*, “only to hear.” *Nihil aliud quam*, in constr. = *tantum*. See Bk. II. ch. viii., “*nihil aliud...aversus quam ut...juberet*,”—“turning aside only to order,” &c.; Bk. xxiv. ch. xxxvi. § 5, “*Cernens nihil aliud ab suis quam inopiam adgravari sociorum*.”

IV. 2. a. *ear...ei...eam*. The repetition of the pronoun well expresses the assiduity of the attention shewn by the senate.—*causas suscipere*, i.e. as *Patroni* of the *plebs*.—*adesse*, i.e. as their advocates.

b. *judices dare*: *judices* is acc.; it is sometimes taken as a nom., but not rightly.

c. *aptior in vulgus favori conciliando*. *In vulgus* depends upon *favori*, (not upon *conciliando*), and must be taken closely with it. So Bk. xxix. ch. xxii., “*memoria absentis Scipionis favorem ad vulgum conciliabat*.”

3. *lascivire*. The subject is *civitas*.

5. *connubium*. “*Capua* stood to *Rome* in the very favour-

able relation of isopolity, and its great families thought themselves quite equal to those of Rome, and were connected with them, even with the Claudii, by intermarriage." Nieb. Lect., vol. ii. p. 116.

V. 2. *quam poterat maxime miserabilem*, "the most piteous object possible." The superlative is signified in the highest possible degree by this and the like expressions, *quantum maxime, ut maxime* combined with *possum*. See Bk. xxii. ch. iv. § 5, "*quantam maximam vastitatem potest*."

7. a. *sed etiam Sidicinum*. There is some difficulty in this, for the Campanians and Sidicines were in alliance, and the Samnite was the common enemy. The war alluded to was in the year 343 B.C. See Bk. vii. ch. xxxiv.—xxxvi.

b. *per centum prope annos*. See below, ch. xlii. § 5; but in Bk. xxxi. ch. xxxi., the time is more exactly given, *per annos prope septuaginta*, i. e. from B.C. 343 to B.C. 272.

10. *ne Africæ quidem indigena*, alluding to the Tyrian origin of Carthage. *Ab ultimis terrarum oris*. See Bk. xxi. ch. xliii. 8.

11. a. *pontibus...faciendis*. There was a story current at Rome that the course of the Vergellus, a small torrent near Cannæ, was so choked by the bodies of the Roman slain, that Hannibal's army crossed by them as over a bridge.

b. *vesci corporibus humanis*. The foundation for this is the story told about Hannibal Monomachus (Polyb. ix. 24. 6), who is said to have advised Hannibal to train his men to eat human flesh, that they might not be in want of provisions. Polybius attributes to Hannibal Monomachus especially many of the cruelties which have been charged upon the son of Hamilcar,



12. *genito modo in Italia*, "if he have been but born in Italy:" *modo* throws a stress upon the condition.

VI. 1. *per injuriam ademptum*. See Bk. viii. ch. xi.

3. *ita renuntiant legationem*, "carry back such a report of their interview." *renuntiant*, sc. *domum*, i. e. to Capua.

8. a. *nimis compar... erat*: supply *hujus postulationi*.—*Latinorum quondam postulatæ*: in the great Latin war B.C. 340: see Bk. viii. ch. v.

b. *Callus*: see Bk. xxi. ch. xxviii. § 4, note.

VIII. 4. *Epulari cœperunt de die*. "*De nocte* est statim a media nocte, s. multa adhuc nocte, et sic *de die* statim a meridie, s. multa adhuc die." Ernesti in Clav. Cic.

IX. 1. a. *Per ego te...jura*. The preposition is often separated from its case, and placed at the beginning of the sentence in earnest appeals. Virg. *Æn.* iv. 814, and in Greek, Eur. Med. 324.

b. *sancti*. An obligation of religion is implied in the *hospitalis mensa*. Two reasons are urged. The attempt to kill Hannibal would be irreligious, and certain to fail.

X. 2. *eum postulare ut sibi dedatur*, = *postulare se ut is sibi dedatur*.

4. *in templo magistratum*. *Templum* (Gr. *τέμενος*) properly means any circumscribed spot; here perhaps 'court' or 'bench.'

9. *ne aut negando*: *ne* must be taken between *et* and *legatione*.

10. *Cyrenas*. Cyrene, or Cyrenæ, was founded, B.C. 631, by Battus and some Dorian colonists from Thera. Cyrene was made a dependency of Egypt by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, B.C. 321, and so continued until Apion, the last king of the Egyptian dynasty, B.C. 95, bequeathed it to the Romans,

11. *Ptolemæi regis*. This was Ptolemy Philopator, who became king in B.C. 222. He was a steadfast ally of the Romans, and furnished them with large supplies of corn in the course of the war. Bk. xxvii. ch. iv.

XI. 1. *Q. Fabius*. See Bk. xxii. ch. lvii.

3. *præda...manubiis...spoliis*. *Præda* is booty of any kind; *manubiæ*, money realized by the sale of booty; *spolia*, all that is taken from an enemy.

6. *quæque*, for *quæcunque*, as elsewhere.

XII. 1. a. *Ad fidem*. Cf. Bk. xxi. ch. xiii. § 2.

b. *annulos aureos*. The custom of wearing rings was of great antiquity. At Rome it was probably as early as the kings. Rings were at first made of iron, but those worn by ambassadors and officers of state were made of gold. In the course of time the use of a gold signet-ring became customary with all senators and equites.

c. *modios*. The *modius* was nearly equal to a quarter of a bushel.

4. *quo propius spem...sit*. See Bk. xxi. ch. i. § 2, "ut propius periculum fuerint qui vicerunt."

5. a. *audiamus*. Himilco speaks with exultation, looking round upon the assembled senate.—*Romanum senatorem*: meaning Hanno himself, whom he would stigmatize as a partizan of Rome.

b. *aut superbus aut obnoxius*, "either overbearing or cringing."

7. *luxuriet*. The metaphor is derived from corn growing rank, and proving fruitless.

10. *ex quinque et triginta tribubus*. This number was attained in B.C. 241, by the addition of the Quirina and Velina. It was not afterwards increased.

XIV. 2. a. *ut equum ascendere liceret*. The reason of

this restriction of the dictator's power was probably that he might not be too much like a sovereign prince.

b. *servorum dilectum*. Bk. xxii. ch. lvii.

3. *Ea sex millia*, "six thousand men raised in this way."

6. *secunda simulando*, "by feigning compliance." See below, § 8, "*concedendo plebei senatum ubi velint*," &c.

XVI. 7. *subsidiæque destinata*, &c., "and the force intended to act as a reserve was appointed to guard the baggage."

9. *resides factos*, "that they hung back."

10. *Dum in sua*, &c., "whilst the soldiers are hurrying eagerly to their several duties in front."

12. *non vinci*. Twice before, at least, Hannibal had suffered repulse. See Bk. xxi. ch. lvii., and xxii. xxix.

XVII. 3. *continuarentur*, "were closed up."

7. *partem urbis quæ cis Vulturum est*: i.e. on the right bank. But the left bank is naturally the strongest, and the subsequent account of the siege seems to imply that this and not the right was occupied by the Romans.

8. *Additur et Perusina cohors*. If Livy's numbers are to be depended upon, the whole garrison of Casilinum consisted of a little more than 1,000 men. In ch. xix. the number of the Prænestines is given as 570.

XVIII. 1. a. *rem gerere*, "to take active measures."

b. *moliri*, "to force."

4. *agmine elephantorum opposito*. In Bk. xxii. ch. ii. § 6, Hannibal had but one elephant remaining.

6. *in hiberna Capuam concessit*. This is that famous period in Hannibal's career on which so many declamations have been founded. It is said that indulgence completely disorganized his army, and rendered the soldiers

incapable of their former deeds. Yet their superiority in the field remained as decided as ever. The truth is, that the war now assumed another character, and was henceforward to be maintained less by brilliant victories than by endurance and carefully husbanded resources.

8. *insolentia*, "disuse."

10. a. *sub pellibus*, "under canvas."

b. *sine commeatibus*. Bk. xxi. ch. xxi. § 2.

XIX. 2. a. *Tib. Sempronius*. He was *magister equitum* to M. Junius Pera. Bk. xxii. ch. 57.

b. *preces...Acerranorum*. Acerræ had been taken and burnt by Hannibal (see ch. xvii.), and it could hardly have been restored and re-occupied. By these Acerrans, therefore, we must understand those who had taken refuge in Nola.

3. *præcipitasse se*, i. e. *a muris*.

6. *intentiore custodia*. A chain is said to have been thrown across.

7. *Nuces*. Festus derives the nickname (*Nuculæ*) by which the Prænestines were known from this circumstance. It probably arose from the abundance and excellence of the nuts of Præneste.

9. a. *quidquid herbidî terreni*, "all the ground that bore any kind of herbage."

b. *raporum...sessurus sum*. The act seemed to imply that the garrison had provisions enough to last until the seed produced a crop.

11. *minus dimidium*, i. e. *minus quam dimidium*.

XX. 2. *non mutaverunt*, sc. *civitatem suam*.

4. *Petelinos*. The reduction of Petelia is related below, ch. xxx.

6. *præsenti fortuna*, "as long as the present ill-fortune continued."

8. *re laxata*, either "when the excitement had abated," or "the matter having been deferred."

XXI. 1. a. *P. Furium*. See Bk. xxii. ch. xxxv. and lvii. We hear nothing of the engagement in which he received his wound.

b. *ad diem*, punctually—"to the day."

4. a. *quanti argenti opus fuit*, "the necessary sum for the pay of the soldiers." The construction is difficult, and only to be explained *ad sensum*. *Quanti* cannot, of course, depend upon *opus*, but with *argenti* must be taken as a substantive notion, containing a relative with which *opus* adjectively agrees.

b. *mensum*. A very unusual gen. for *mensium*. It is to be found in Ovid Met. viii. 500, and in one or two other places, but it is doubted whether *mensium* should not be written, and scanned *per synæresim*.

c. *benigne contulerunt*. See below, ch. xxxii. § 5, which conveys a different impression.

5. *mensarii*, bankers, or commissioners of the bank appointed by the State, and as such distinguished from the *argentarii*, who did business on their own account. They were appointed only in times of distress. The first time that they appear is in B.C. 352, (Bk. vii. ch. xxi.,) when they were *quinqueviri*; subsequently they were always *triumviri*.

6. *ædem Concordiæ*. See Bk. xxii. ch. xxxiii.

XXII. 2. a. *post L. Æmilium et C. Flaminius censores*. In B.C. 220. See Epit. of Bk. xx.

b. *quum tantum ... absumpsissent*, "although disastrous battles had taken off so large a number of the senators, besides the several accidents to individual members during the last five years." There is an opposition between *tan-*

*tum senatorum* and *quemque*; both depend upon *absump-*  
*sissent*.

4. a. *postulatum Latinorum*. Livy has already been reminded of this (see above, ch. vi.) by the demand of the Campanians. Before hostilities commenced in B.C. 340, the Latins tried to obtain a union of equality with Rome. They were willing that Rome should be the seat of government, and Romans the name of the united nation, but they demanded that they (the Latins) should always furnish one of the consuls and half the senate. See Bk. VIII. ch. 5.

b. *T. Manlius*. Livy describes him (Bk. xxii. ch. lx.) as *vir priscae ac nimis durae severitatis*. He was a great-grandson of the old consul who had so fiercely opposed the Latin deputies.

5. *vetustissimus*. M. Fabius Buteo had been censor with C. Aurelius Cotta in B.C. 241.

XXIII. 1. a. *uni*. There were always two censors, because previously to the creation of the office, the census was always taken by the two consuls together.

b. *et eidem iterum*. C. Marcius Rutilus was the only person who ever held the censorship twice; and he brought forward a law in B.C. 265, by which no one could be elected a second time. He was hence called Censorinus.

3. *curulem magistratum gessissent*. The right of using a curule chair, or chair of state, belonged to the consuls, prætors, curule ædiles, censors, flamen dialis, and dictator.

4. a. *Ut quisque ... creatus erat*, "when each of these had been made a member of the senate according to his rank." This seems to be what is meant, but the text is very doubtful.

b. *civicam coronam*. This passage would seem to give the highest distinction to the attainment of the *corona*

*civica*, though it is usually assigned to the *corona obsidionalis*. See Dict. of Antiquities.

XXIV. 3. a. *comitia edixit quibus...consules crearentur*. The dictator issued his edict for the holding of the *comitia*, and the edict appears to have contained a notice that Gracchus and Postumius would be proposed for election.

b. *L. Postumius (Albinus) tertium*. He had been consul in B.C. 234, and again in B.C. 229. Polybius calls him Aulus.

4. *Teanum*. There were two places of this name; Teanum Sidicinum on the Via Latina (Bk. xxii. ch. lvii.), and Teanum distinguished by the name of Apulum, on the right bank of the Frento, in Apulia. The former seems to be here meant, (compare ch. xix., xxxii., xlv.)

XXV. 3. *Galliam...omitti*. In Bk. xxiv. ch. x. it is said that the *imperium* of M. Pomponius in *Gallico agro* was *prorogatum* for the year 214. Either, then, Gaul had been assigned to him for the year 215, but owing to the want of troops he had not occupied it; or he may have gone thither late in the year.

4. *nisi qui stipendiorum legitimorum esset*, "except for him who should have completed his legal time of service." The disgraced soldiers of Cannæ were to serve in Sicily as long as the war lasted; the others, *minimi quisque roboris*, draughted off from the dictator's army, were to be allowed to claim their discharge as soon as they had served their full time; i. e. the infantry twenty years, the cavalry ten, each reckoning, of course, the time he had already served.

XXVI. 2. *neutri parti virium*, i. e. land or sea force.

XXVII. 1. *urbem Ascuam*. This place is entirely unknown; no other writer mentions it.

4. *ad multum diei*: see Bk. xxii. ch. lii. § 1, “*Spoliis ad multum diei lectis*.”

XXVIII. 1. a. *Himilco*. Possibly the same as the Himilco mentioned above in ch. xii., but it is impossible to say positively, nor is it certain whether this Himilco is ever mentioned again.

b. *juxta* = *æque*: cf. Bk. xxi. ch. xxxiii. § 2.

5. a. *castra castris conferrent*, in hostile sense, like *signa manus, arma, &c. conferre*.

b. *Hiberam*. This city is not mentioned by any other writer. There are some coins extant which seem to place it in the territory of the Ilercaones.

XXIX. 3. *equitum Numidas...apponit*. “Of the cavalry he stations the Numidians next to the Carthaginian foot, and the rest next to the Africans, on the wings.”

4. *desultorum*. The *desultores* were riders who, when one horse was tired or disabled, used to leap on to a fresh one which they held by a leading rein. There seems to have been a troop of these *desultores* in the Carthaginian army.

6. *itaque velut ... mori*, “therefore like men whose return to their native land turned on the crisis of that battle, they had firmly resolved in their minds to conquer or die.”

XXX. 7. *in fide, &c.* The construction is *manserunt ad ultimum in fide erga Romanos et potestatis suæ*. The Rhegians “maintained to the last their allegiance to Rome, and their own independence.”—*Potestatis suæ manserunt*, like *sui juris esse*.

10. *quam dictator vovisset*. See Bk. xxii. ch. ix.

XXXI. 1. *ut, quo...exigeretur*, “that with a view to a double tax being imposed that year, one half should be levied at once.” See Arn., iii. 177.



2. *castra Claudiana super Suessulam*. The camp formed by Marcellus, and called by his name. See ch. xiv. § 10, and ch. xvii. § 1.

10. a. *in Capitolio*. See a description of the Area Capitolina, Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog., art. Roma, p. 769.

b. *item uti municipes...defecisset*, "likewise that they should be [considered as] townsmen of Cumæ, reckoning from the day before that on which the Campanians had revolted from Rome." The reason of this resolution follows.

14. *vulgoque patres, &c.*, "and the patricians publicly gave out."—*fama ferre*, "publish abroad," "spread rumours." See Bk. iv. ch. 5.

XXXII. 4. a. *quibusque in senatu dicere sententiam liceret*, e. g. all the curule magistrates.

b. *ad portam Capenam*. This is one of the old gates whose position is known with certainty. The Appian way, skirting the foot of the Cælian hill on the west, passed out by this gate, and a few hundred yards farther on threw off a branch road,—the Via Latina.

5. *gravi tributo*. See ch. xxi. § 4.

7. *Hasdrubalem*, surnamed *Calvus*, or the Bald, ch. xxxiv. § 8. For the result of the expedition, see below, ch. xxxiv., xl., and xli.

9. *primas*, "next" = *proximas*, and is to be taken with *kalendas*.

XXXIII. 2. *incertis adhuc viribus*, "it not being certain which was the stronger side."

3. *Lacinia Junonis templum*. See Bk. xxiv. ch. iii.

5. *Xenophanes*. He was the son of Cleomachus, an Athenian, (Polyb. vii. 9.) Though he escaped this time, he was subsequently captured (ch. xxxiv.) and thrown into prison, after which we hear no more of him.

XXXIV. 2. a. *cercyros*. Some kind of light bark. It is uncertain whether *cercyrus* or *cercurus* be right. If *cercurus*, 'vox ipsa est conflata a *κέρκος* et *οὐρά* quæ utraque dictio caudam significat; fortasse quod prælonga esset, et velut in caudam utrimque desineret.'" Others read *cercyrus*, "a *Κερκύρα*, hoc est Corcyra insula; quasi Corcy-ræorum propria fuerit."

b. *præfectum classis*. P. Valerius Flaccus.

5. *L. Valerius Antias*. We hear no more of him. His cognomen 'Antias' was derived from the colony of Antium.

6. *gravitate cæli*, &c. The unhealthiness of Sardinia was almost proverbial. It may have arisen from the marshes on the coast, and probably did not extend to the high ground of the interior.

8. *armamenta*. See Bk. xxi. ch. 49. § 7.

XXXV. 1. *alterius mollitis animis*, sc. of the Carthaginians.

3. *fallax consilium*, i. e. their own.

5. a. *decurrere*, "to march at quick step." "*Decurrere* exercitus dicuntur cum vel in armis aliquantum spatii conficiunt, vel imaginarias pugnas edunt, et in duas divisi partes veri simile prælium committunt ut paratiores sint cum hostibus congredientes." Facc. See Bk. xxiv. ch. xlviii. § 10.

b. *ea maxima pars*, "they were mostly"

11. *medixtuticus*. *Medix*, or *Meddix*, is the Oscan for magistrate, and *tuticus* = summus.

XXXVI. 1. *in Tifatis*. Tifāta (now Monte di Maddaloni), a ridge of hills about a mile from Capua. It commanded Capua and the Campanian plain, and was therefore occupied and long held by Hannibal. The name is

said to have been derived from the woods of evergreen oak with which it was covered, Tifata being equivalent to *iliceta*.

XXXVII. 3. *promovendo*: passive, "by being moved forward."

7. *intra castra atque urbem*, "within the space formed by the camp on one side, and the city on the other."

8. *Grumentum*. This is the first mention anywhere of this place. In B.C. 207, Hannibal himself met with a slight defeat here from C. Claudius Nero. It stood at the head of the valley of the Aciris.

XXXVIII. 4. *ultra inferendo bello*, "by carrying the war into the enemy's country."

6. *additis quinque*. These five ships are counted twice over, and so the total of the fleet with its reinforcements for the Macedonian war is said to consist of fifty-five, instead of fifty ships.

XXXIX. 5. *Compulteriam*. In Samnium on the right bank of the Volturnus. Its capture by Fabius is mentioned again, Bk. xxiv. ch. xx.

XL. 2. *Carales*: now Cagliari, on the south coast of Sardinia; the most important town in the island. It was of Carthaginian foundation.

3. *Pellitos Sardos*: tribes dwelling in the hills towards the north-west of the island. Their chief town was Cornus.

7. *procursationes*, "skirmishes." — *levia certamina*, in app. to *procursationes*.

XLI. 1. *Mago*. No more is known of him.

7. a. *cum militibus...elephantisque*. See ch. xiii. ad fin.

b. *æstuque suo*, "with the tide" = *æstu secundo*. In con-

struction the sentence requires either *exercitum duxit*, or the omission of *que* with *æstu suo*.

XLII. 2. a. *Pyrrho regi*. Pyrrhus came over to Italy in B.C. 281, and finally left it in B.C. 275.

b. *necessariam*. See Bk. xxi. ch. xiii. § 3.

5. *per annos centum*. The Samnite wars began in B.C. 343, and lasted on until the year B.C. 290. They did not therefore strictly occupy more than fifty-three years. The Samnites revolted afterwards in the year before Pyrrhus came into Italy, but they were never able, after the conclusion of the third great war in B.C. 290, to make head against Rome.

6. *duos consules*. Veturius and Postumius, B.C. 321, at the Caudine Forks.

8. a. *ante explorato*, "the ground having been first reconnoitred."

b. *Proprætoris unius*, sc. *Marcellus*. Some edd. read *proprii*, which must be taken with *præsidii* in the sense of "intended for it alone," i. e. Nola.

11. *præsidiumque simul nobis et Nolæ ademeris*, "you will take away their garrison both from us and from Nola." The texts vary very much. Some read *præsidium missum* (i. e. a Romanis) *nobis et Nolæ ademeris*. Others, *præsidiumque missum nobis* (i. e. a te) *et Nolæ ademerit*, sc. *præsidium*.

XLIII. 2. *indicandum autem primum fuisse*. From the preceding *indicare clades suas*, supply *quas clades accipissent*.

4. *obscuram facturum*, "would eclipse."

6. *Hanno ex Bruttiis*. See above, ch. xxxvii. § 9.

8. *Explorato*, used as in ch. xlii. § 8.—*explorato...receptu*, "after reconnoitring, and with strong escorts and

with the means of retreat secured."—*receptu*, see Bk. xxii. ch. xii. § 4.

9. *obterit*, "disparages," "speaks in contemptuous terms of." See Bk. xxiv. ch. xv. § 8.

12. *ipsorum quam H. interesse*, "it concerned them much more than Hannibal whether he," &c.—*potitulum enim*, with emphasis, "for get possession of it he would."

XLIV. 2. *Dedituris se ... præsidium*, "if they had intended to give themselves up to Hannibal, would they have been likely to call in a Roman garrison?"

5. *concursum ad pugnantes facto*, "as numbers flocked to the combatants."

7. *tenuit*, "continued." See Bk. xxiv. ch. xlvii. § 18.

XLV. 6. *enim minor res est. Enim* occurring in this position expresses irony or contempt:—"Well! a less thing than this is now before you." Some edd. have *En! nunc*.

XLVII. 4. *ad evagandum*. See Bk. xxii. ch. xlvii. § 1.

5. *minime sis cantherium in fossam*, "don't ride your horse into a ditch," jeering at the folly of his antagonist. With this reading *sis* is said to stand for *si vis*, (= *si placet*), and *dejice* is to be supplied from *dejecit*. Others read *in fossa*, taking *cantherium* as a nom., but no such nom. is to be found. For other interpretations see the notes of Gronovius and Crevier.

XLVIII. 6. *tributo sumptus suppeditari*, "the expenses of the war were being supplied by (extraordinary) taxation:" see ch. xxxi. § 1.

7. a. *redempturis*, "by their farming of the State revenues."

b. *tempus commodarent*, "make a loan."

c. *conducerentque ... solveretur*, "and contract for the supply of what was necessary for the army of Spain, on condition that as soon as there was money in the treasury, payment should be made to them first of all."

8. *edixit, quo die...esset locaturus*, "he gave notice on what day he would receive contracts for."

XLIX. 1. a. *in eo publico, sc. ministerio*: Gr., *λειτουργία*.

b. *publico periculo essent*, "might be ensured," i.e. the loss was to be borne by the State. This gave rise to fraud, (see Bk. xxv. ch. iii. § 6,) notwithstanding what Livy says about the honourable conduct of the contractors.

4. *nec quicquam quam si...alerentur*. Supply *exercitus*, "just as much as if the armies were still supported out of a rich treasury."

5. *Iliturgi oppidum*: a city of Hispania Bœtica, about five days' march from Carthago Nova. Having joined the Romans, it was twice besieged by the Carthaginians (see again, Bk. xxiv. ch. xli.), but each time the siege was raised. At last, on the overthrow of the two Scipios, it revolted to the Carthaginians, for which the inhabitants were put to the sword, and the city burnt by P. Scipio, B.C. 206.



## ANALYSIS OF BOOK XXIV.

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**B.C. 215. ITALY.** The Locrians give themselves up to Hannibal. Capture of the town of Croto by the Bruttii, (i—iii.)

**SICILY.** Hieronymus king. His ministers. The influence of Andranodrus and Zoippus for Carthage, and that of Thraso for Rome. Thraso accused by Theodotus and put to death, (iv., v.) Embassy from Hieronymus to Hannibal, who sends back as his agents Hippocrates and Epicydes. Remonstrance of App. Claudius, and Hieronymus's answer. His death, (vi—viii.)

**ROME.** Q. Fabius presides at the election of officers for the ensuing year. He disallows the election of Otacilius.

**B.C. 214. Consuls—Q. Fabius IV. ; M. Claud. Marcellus III.**  
**Prætors—Q. Fulv. Flaccus (urbanus); T. Otacilius (to command the fleet); Q. Fabius (son of the consul); P. Cornel. Lentulus (in Sicily).**

Gracchus retains his post\* at Luceria. Q. Mucius has Sardinia. Pomponius is stationed in Gaul, and Varro at Picenum, (ix—xi.)



**ITALY.** Alarm of the Capuans. Deputation from Tarentum to Hannibal. His attempts on Puteoli, Naples and Nola, (xii., xiii.) Hanno at Beneventum. Gracchus and his Volones, (xiv—xvi.) Second repulse of Hannibal before Nola. Default of C. Claud. Nero, (xvii.) Siege of Casilinum. Its capture. [Censorship at Rome, (xviii.)] Some of Gracchus's cohorts defeated by Hanno. Tarentum secured by Livius (xix., xx.) against Hannibal, who winters at Salapia.

**SICILY.** Marcellus appointed to the command.

**SYRACUSE.** Events on the death of Hieronymus. Andranodorus seizes the citadel. Arrival of Sosie and Theodotus. Meeting of the Senate. Andranodorus gives up the citadel. Elected *prætor* with others; among them Sopater and Dinomenes, who seize the royal treasure at Leontini, and convey it to Syracuse. Doings of Hippocrates and Epicydes. Andranodorus and Themistus, their plots and death. Speech of Sopater. Heraclea and her daughters. Hippocrates and Epicydes made *prætors*. Deputies to Marcellus from Syracuse. His hopes of a peaceful issue. Effect of the appearance of the Roman fleet off Syracuse. Speech of Apollonides, (xxi—xxviii.)

Leontine deputation at Syracuse asking for aid. Hippocrates proceeds to Leontini. Attack on a Roman post. Marcellus demands the expulsion of Hippocrates and Epicydes from Sicily. Their intrigues. Leontini stormed by Marcellus. Exaggerated report of the action. Effect on the Syracusan army. Hippocrates

and Epicydes forge letters as to Marcellus from the prætors at Syracuse. Revolution at Syracuse. Hippocrates and Epicydes elected sole prætors, (xxix—xxxii.) Syracuse summoned by Appius. Reply of Epicydes. Siege of Syracuse. Archimedes, (xxxiii., xxxiv.)

**MARCELLUS** recovers Helorus, Herbessus, and Megara. Pursued by Himilco with superior force. Retires to the camp before Syracuse. Himilco takes Agrigentum and Murgantia. Henna. L. Pinarius. Effect of his conduct on the other Sicilian towns, (xxxv—xxxix.)

**MACEDON.** M. Valerius takes Oricum and relieves Apollonia (xl.), taking Philip by surprise.

**SPAIN.** Successes of Hasdrubal and Mago among the Spanish tribes. Revolt of all Spain from Rome imminent. Timely movement of P. Corn. Scipio. His subsequent dangerous position relieved by his brother Cnæus. Revolt of Castulo to the Romans. Cn. Scipio relieves Iliturgi and Bigerra. His victory at Munda. Wins a second victory. Romans retake Saguntum. Turdetani punished, (xli., xlii.)

**ROME.** Action against the censors by Metellus. Stopped by veto of the tribunes. Election of officers for B.C. 213.

**Consuls**—Q. Fabius Maximus, son of the late consul; Tib. Semp. Gracchus, iterum; to conduct the war against Hannibal.

**Prætors**—Atilius, *præt. urbanus*; P. Semp. Tuditanus at Ariminum; Cn. Fulv. Centumalus at Suessula; M. Æmil. Lepidus at Luceria,

Other officers: M. Claudius Marcellus in Sicily, where Lentulus, too, was to retain his command; T. Otacilius to command the fleet; M. Valerius in Greece and Macedon; Q. Mucius has Sardinia, and C. Terentius Picenum (xliii., xlv.)

B.C. 213. Dasius Altinius. His treachery. Fate of himself and family. Arpi stormed. Desertion of 112 Campanian youths from Capua to Rome. Semp. Tuditanus takes Atrinum. Conflagration at Rome, (xlv., xlv.)

SPAIN. Plans of the Scipios to operate in Africa. Syphax gained as an ally. Q. Statorius drills his troops. Carthaginian alliance with Gala. Victories of his son Masinissa. Three hundred Celtiberians sent by the Scipios into Italy to seduce their countrymen serving in Hannibal's army, said by Livy to be the first employment of mercenaries in the Roman army, (xlviii., xlix.)

## BOOK XXIV.

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I. 1. *Ut...reditum est.* See Bk. xxiii. ch. xvi.

2. *Rhegium.* The Rhegians remained faithful to Rome, but the Locrians had given way. Croto, too, had fallen, except the citadel. (Bk. xxiii. ch. xxx.)

6. a. *Bruttiis in colloquio, &c.,* "In the conference, no trust was at first placed in anything that the Bruttians said."

b. *pauci magis taciti...auderent.* "A few, more by their silence, shewed that they were for maintaining their allegiance, than by any bold expression of their wishes."

11. *in potestatem...esset.* Supply *traditus*, or some such word. *Esse* is not infrequently used in this way with the prep., and an acc. where we might rather expect an ablative. See below, ch. viii. § 14, *stantibus...in aciem.*

II. 3. a. *ne quid non pro sociis egisse viderentur,* "lest they should seem to have acted in a way inconsistent with their duty as allies."

b. *caveri.* *Cavere ab aliquo* is "to take a guarantee from any one." See Bk. xxii. ch. lx.

4. *præsentium esse,* "was for those on the spot to determine," sc. Hanno, or Bomilcar. See Bk. xxiii. ch. xli.

7. *vasta,* "waste." This is explained in the following chapter, "post vastitatem eo bello factam vix pars dimidia habitabatur."

III. 1. a. *ante Pyrrhi...adventum.* In B.C. 281.

b. *flumen.* The Æsarus.

2. *Sedecim millia*. We should probably read *sex* for *sedecim*. The temple here alluded to was the most famous in Magna Græcia. It was of very ancient foundation, probably Pelasgic, from the legends about it. Both Pyrrhus and Hannibal left it inviolate, but in B.C. 173, Q. Fulvius Flaccus profaned and robbed it, and it never recovered its splendour.

5. *per aversas rupes*. See Bk. xxii. ch. xxiv. § 7.

IV. 4. *filia*. These were Demarata, the wife of Andronodorus, and Heraclea, wife of Zoippus. Hiero had also a son, Gelo, who had married Nereis, daughter of Pyrrhus; from her were born Hieronymus, and Harmonia, who became the wife of Themistus.

5. a. *quingaginta annos*. Hiero's alliance with Rome began in B.C. 263.

b. *disciplinæ*, in apposition to *vestigis*. Some edd. have *disciplinæque*.

V. 3. a. *conuenientes*, "of a piece with."

b. *contemptus omnium hominum*, "contempt for," objective genitive.

6. *avertit...occurrere*. "He turns away condemnation from those who were really privy to the plot upon the innocent, (falsely declaring that Thraso was the author of the plan,—that none would have dared so great an enterprise except as relying on so powerful a chief,) mentioning the names of the most worthless of those about the tyrant's person who occurred to him as he made up his story amid his torture." From *Thrasonem* to *ausuros* may be taken as parenthetical. Then the only difficulty is in connecting *insontes* with the last sentence, *ab latere...occurrere*. They are really in apposition. But if we supply *eos nominans*, or some such words, after *ausuros*, the whole becomes easy.

8. *latuit*, "sought concealment."

VI. 1. a. *legati*. Polyb. (vii. 2) gives their names, Polyolitus of Cyrene, and Philodemus of Argos, Bk. xxv. ch. xxv.

b. *cum Hannibale*. This Hannibal shortly after proceeded with the envoys of Hieronymus to Carthage; his name does not occur again.

5. *Himera amnis*. There were two rivers of this name in Sicily; one flowing from south to north past the city of Himera; the other a little more eastward flowing from north to south: the latter, which is here meant, is a much larger river than the former, and is famous as the scene of many battles.

6. a. *Pyrrhi etiam regis*. Gelo, the father of Hieronymus, had married Nereis, the daughter of Pyrrhus. See above, ch. iv. § 4, note.

b. *cedi*; for similar constr., see Bk. xxii. ch. xxv. § 1.

7. *jactationem*, "arrogance."

VII. 2. *Leontinos*. Leontini (now Lentini) was a Greek colony of Chalcidian origin, north of Syracuse, about eight miles from the sea, founded B.C. 730. At this time it was subject to Syracuse, the sovereignty having been secured to Hiero by his treaty with the Romans in B.C. 263, (ch. iv. § 5.)

4. *tamquam laxaret...nodo*, "raising his foot as if to ease the knot of his shoe-string."

6. *præoccupanda*, "forestall."

7. *ad provinciam regnique fines*, for *provincia regnique fines*, which would have been the more natural expression. By the *provincia* is meant the Roman province, i.e. the western part of Sicily as far as the Himera; by the *regnum*, the eastern part of the island, or the old dominion of Hiero.

8. a. *in eum quem...edixit*; lit., "gave notice of the comitia

for the first legal day." The legal days were about 184 in the course of the year; but it was usual to allow a *trinundinum tempus*, i. e. a space of twenty-seven days to elapse between the notice of election and the election itself. This delay in the present instance was dispensed with. (See Bk. III. ch. ii.)

b. *præter urbem*, "past the city." From the road by which Fabius would come, the Campus Martius lay beyond the city, at its north-west extremity.

9. *quum sors...extisset*, "the lot of voting first having fallen to the juniors of the Aniensian tribe." See Bk. xxvi. ch. xxii.—*prærogativæ* seems here to mean the prerogative vote; in ch. ix. § 2, it means the prerogative tribe. With *Aniensi* we must suppose *tribui* to be supplied. So again in ch. viii. § 15. *Aniensi*. This tribe, together with the Terentina, was added in B.C. 299, by the censors P. Semp. Sophus and P. Sulp. Saverrio. See Bk. x. ch. ix.

VIII. 2. a. *T. Manlium*. The first of the family surnamed Torquatus; his combat took place in B.C. 361. See Bk. vii. ch. x.

b. *ob eandem causam*, because he was their *miles summus*.

c. *M. Valerio*, surnamed Corvus from the legend of his combat with the Gaul in B.C. 349. See Bk. vii. ch. xxvi.

3. *optamus*, "select."

6. *Flamen* is a priest devoted to the service of any particular god. *M. Æmilius* is called *flamen Martialis*, Bk. xxix. ch. xi. For the restrictions to which the *flamines* were subject, see Dict. Antiq., p. 541.

7. *ea*, "such," "so slight."

12. *si aliquid*. See Bk. xxiii. ch. xli. § 6.

14. *sacramento...dicant*. *Sacramento*, abl. This is the usual expression, but *sacramentum dicere* is also found.

IX. 1. *admonuit*, implies a threatening intimation.

2. *prærogativa*. See note, ch. vii. § 9.

4. *extra ordinem*, i. e. by a special vote; usually lots were drawn. Bk. xxi. ch. xvii.

6. a. *Maximum Rullum*. Q. Fabius Max. Rullus, or Rullianus, was consul for the fifth time with P. Decius Mus, a fourth time elected, in B.C. 295. This was the year of the great defeat of the Samnites, Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls at Sentinum.

b. *Papirium*. L. Papirius Cursor and Sp. Carvilius Maximus were consuls together in B.C. 293.

8. *in exemplum exquireret*, "should look narrowly into the precedent." The *exemplum* was the conduct of Fabius in refusing to allow the first election of the centuries.

X. 1. *compararent*, "arrange."

2. *in Gallico*. See note, Bk. xxiii. ch. xxv.

3. a. *serias doliaque*. These vessels were of much the same description, long and bell-mouthed in shape, and usually of earthenware.

b. *in campo*, i. e. *in campo Martio*.

4. *secundum*. See Bk. xxi. ch. xvi. *Secundum* is a prep., as in Bk. xxi. ch. xl. § 5.

5. *majoribus*, opposed in meaning, as elsewhere, to *latentibus*.

XI. 2. *singulas*, "one a-piece."

6. *millibus æris quinquaginta*. The amounts respectively corresponding to these incomes in English money are, in round sums, about—1, from £100 to £200; 2, from £200 to £600; 3, from £600 to £1,900.

XIII. 2. *legatosque...rogare*, "and having been sent, ...they begged Hannibal," &c. The subject *se* must be repeated from the first clause of the sentence.



6. *munimento quoque*. See above, ch. vii. § 8.

XIV. 4. *libertati auctorem eis...fore*, "would guarantee them their freedom."

6. *præcipue quibus...erat*, "especially those who were to be rewarded for one day's good hard work with their freedom." *Navare* is "to work with zeal," from *navus*, adj. The original form, *gnavus*, is found in *ignavus*. It is, perhaps, connected with γερναῖος.

XV. 5. *neminem stantem...jacentes*. *Stantem* is opposed to *jacentes*, and *vulnerari* to *carnificari*.

8. a. *ex ergastulo*. The *ergastula* were places of confinement in which slaves were set to work in chains. It was an usual appendage to every large farm or estate.

b. *obtereret*. See Bk. xxiii. ch. xliii. § 9.

XVI. 5. *cognovissent*, "claim." See Bk. iii. ch. 10.

9. *celebrem festumque diem*; accusatives of *time* after *actis*.

13. *pileati*. When a slave obtained his freedom, he had his head shaved, and wore, instead of his hair, an undyed *pileus*, or felt cap. Hence this cap came to be an emblem of liberty. See ch. xxxii.

XVII. 8. *O. Claudium Neronem*. This is that C. Claudius Nero whose march to meet Hasdrubal, and subsequent victory over him at the Metaurus in B.C. 207, is so celebrated. Nero was prætor in B.C. 212, and afterwards served in Spain until P. Corn. Scipio took the command there. In B.C. 209 he served as *legatus* under Marcellus, and in B.C. 207 was colleague with M. Livius in the consulship.

XVIII. 1. *velut...gignunt*. The construction is *velut corpora agrâ diutinis morbis gignunt* (vitia) *ex sese*.

2. a. *de Italia deserenda*. See Bk. xxii. ch. liii.

b. *pronuntiarunt*, sc. *censores*.

4. a. *superioribus illis*; the fellow-conspirators of Metellus.

b. *equi adempti*. Every *eques* originally received a horse from the State (*equus publicus*), or money to purchase one. This continued until about the year B.C. 400, after which there were two classes of *equites*. (See Dict. of Antiq., art. *Equites*). The knights were subject to the inspection of the censors, who had the power of depriving each of his horse, and degrading to the condition of an *æerarian*. (See below, ch. xliii.) If no fault was found with an *eques*, he was desired to pass on (*traducere equum*); if otherwise, his horse was taken from him (*equus ademptus*), or he was required to sell it, and refund the price which had been paid for its purchase to the State.

c. *æerarii facti*. The *æerarii* are always mentioned in connection with the power of the censors to degrade. There was no other form of degradation for a plebeian than that of becoming an *æerarius*. But who exactly these *æerarii* were is uncertain. It is clear that they did not possess the right of suffrage; they were, perhaps, persons who took up their abode at Rome, and followed for the most part occupations which were thought degrading.

5. a. *vacatio justa*, "legal exemption from service," such as age, or sickness, or fulfilment of service, or tenure of some office.

b. *tam tristi censoriæ notæ*. Some editions have *inerti censoriæ notæ*, which would mean that the punishment inflicted by the censors involved only a loss of privileges, not the imposition of any additional fine or service.

6. a. *locationibus*, "letting out," or "receiving contracts for." *Locationes* were of two kinds, *locationes rerum*, and *locationes operarum*. A *locatio operarum* is the letting out certain services to be fulfilled on certain fixed terms. He

for whom the service is done is the *locator*; he who does the service is called *conductor* or *redemptor*.

b. *curulium equorum præbendorum*. The *curules equi* were horses furnished at the public cost for the use of the curule officers at the Circensian games.

c. *hastæ*, "auction." The symbol was derived from the ancient practice of setting up a spear when the booty acquired in war was disposed of.

9. *a quæstore perscribatur*, "a cheque (*perscriptio*) was given on the treasury by the quæstor." See the article *Argentarii* in Smith's Dict. of Antiquities.

XIX. 6. *quia magna...ferent*, "because the influence of fame either way came to be very great."

9. *in custodiam*, "to be kept in safe custody."

XX. 3. a. *Compulteria*. The capture of this town by Fabius has been already mentioned. See Bk. xxiii. ch. xxxix.

b. *Fugifulæ, Orbitanium*. These places are unknown.

c. *de saxo*, sc. Tarpeio.

6. *Acuca*: unknown. Ardoneæ is perhaps Herdonea, a city of Apulia on the way to Beneventum from Canusium. It was memorable as the scene of two defeats inflicted by Hannibal on the Romans in B.C. 212 and 210. Bk. xxv. ch. xxi. and xxvii. ch. i. After his second victory, Hannibal destroyed the city.

8. *non modestia...nisi*. *Nisi* for *sed*, as frequently, but only, after a negative. See Zumpt, Lat. G., § 735.

10. a. *Tarenti*, not to be joined with *mænia*, but gen. of place,—“at Tarentum.”

b. *M. Livius*. This was M. Livius Macatus (not Salinator, as Cicero calls him, Or. 2. 67), a kinsman of M. Livius Salinator, the victor (with Nero) of the Metaurus.

When, in B.C. 212, Tarentum was taken by surprise (see Bk. xxv. ch. viii.—x.), Livius escaped into the citadel, which he maintained against all Hannibal's efforts until B.C. 209, when the city was retaken by Fabius. The debate in the senate, in the following year, whether Macatus ought to be punished for losing the city, or rewarded for holding the citadel, was the means of rousing from his retirement M. Livius Salinator, who spoke warmly in his kinsman's defence. It was then that Fabius made his celebrated reply to those who urged that he was indebted for the glory of recovering Tarentum to Macatus, "Certe, nam nisi ille amisisset, ego nunquam recepissem."

c. *priore...juventute*. Some editions have *primore*.

11. *qui ad lacum Averni adissent*. Sup., ch. xiii.

12. *Salapiam* (now Salpi), an Apulian city near the Aufidus, separated from the Adriatic by a lagoon. It is not mentioned in history before this war. It was strengthened by Hannibal, and held for his magazines and winter quarters until B.C. 210, when it was betrayed to Marcellus by Blasius, one of the citizens.

XXI. 2. *parentandum*. *Parentare* (Th. *parens...pari*) properly means, to "offer a sacrifice in honour of deceased relatives," thence to "offer the life of another as an atonement to the dead."

6. a. *Hexapylo...invecti*, "riding in by the Hexapylum." Syracuse was divided into four quarters. The island of Ortygia, commanding the entrance to the great port; this was the original settlement, and always strongly fortified. Next to it northwards was Achradina, the largest and most important quarter; the name is said to be derived from the wild pear-trees (*ἄχρᾶδες*) growing on the heights. On the south-west of Achradina lay the New Town (Neapolis), which was of more recent existence; and on the north-

west, Tycha, so called from a temple of Fortune (τύχη) which was there. Tycha was entered from the west north-west by a gate called the Hexapylum.

b. *obscura luce*, "at dusk."

7. *ex Olympii Jovis templo*. This temple stood on a height about a mile and a-half from Neapolis, from which it was separated by the marshes of the Anapus. It was a fortified spot, being of importance as commanding the bridge over the Anapus and the road across the marshes from the south-west.

8. *per principes regionum*, "through the principal quarters." The gen. depends upon *principes*, which is taken either substantively or as a superlative.

9. a. *Insula*, Ortygia.

b. *saxo quadrato*, "a wall built of square-hewn stone."

XXII. 3. a. *ut in potestate...sit*, "to submit himself to."

b. *repeti*, for *repetendam esse*.

c. *ab hac concione*, "after this meeting." *Ab* is used similarly in Bk. xxii. ch. xxxiv. § 4.

4. *quod sicut*, &c. *Quod*, i. e. *qui senatus*; *quod*, agreeing in sense with *senatus*, is attracted to *consilium* which follows.

5. *velut munitissima*, "considering that it was very strongly fortified." Some editions have *vel*, instead of *velut*, which means "the very strongest."

6. a. *Dionysii tyranni*. This was Dionysius the elder. The expression is attributed by Diodorus (xiv. 8) to Philistus, who, when Dionysius, being hard pressed by the Carthaginians (cir. B.C. 396), was about to abandon Syracuse in despair, prevented him, saying, *προσθήκει οὐκ ἐφ' ἵππου ἐκπηδᾶν ἐκ τῆς τυραννίδος ἀλλὰ τοῦ σκίλους ἐλκόμενον προσπίπτειν*.

b. *cedere possessione*. See Bk. xxi. ch. xxv. § 1, f.

7. *futurum se...in potestate*. See above, § 3, a.

9. a. *quod satis libertatis foret*, "which would be liberty enough;" others read *libertati*, which means "which would be enough for liberty."

b. *atque undique consuli in medium*, "and that on all sides measures were being taken for the public good."

9. c. *ne libera effertur res*, i. e. *ne ex libera fiat effera*, "lest after having become free, the state be hurried away into licence." This is the natural meaning of the passage. See Cic. Tusc., iv. 17. Some take *effertur* in the sense of *intereat*, "come to an end," "perish;" but the word is not used so absolutely in this way.

XXIII. 2. *comitia prætorum creandi sunt habita*. The construction of this sentence is most unusual, though not without parallel. The more common reading is, *comitia prætoribus creandis habita*.

4. *Achradinam tradita est*, "was transferred to Achradina." *Tradita est* = *translata est*.

7. a. *ne suspecti obversarentur*, "lest they should be objects of public suspicion."

b. *cujus, &c.*, i. e. *cujus imperio imperator sans voluerit se parere*. The omission is harsh.

8. *sed quod volebant non quam maturato opus erat naviter expediebant*, "but they did not set about finding the means of effecting that which they wished so earnestly as the occasion required." The construction is, *non (tam) naviter expediebant (id) quod volebant quam opus erat maturato*. *Naviter*. See above, ch. xiv. § 7. *Quam maturato opus erat* = *quam erat maturandum*. See Bk. i. ch. lviii.

9. a. *eos ipsos*. The Syracusans.

XXIV. 1. a. *opportuna*, to be taken with *his audiendis credendisque*.

b. *Epicydi*. The mention of Epicydes alone does not imply the absence of Hippocrates.

c. *obversaretur*, "was in the way," "was present." See above, ch. xxiii. § 7.

d. *cum Themisto*, to be taken with *rem consociatam*. His plan consorted with Themistus, Andranodorus discloses to Ariston.

2. a. *ars*, "profession." The *histriones* were held in contempt at Rome. See Bk. vii. ch. ii.

b. *indiciū defert*, "lays information."

4. *et principium...occupandam*. The sentences as far as *occupandam* are explanatory of *omnia edocuisset*. *Singula...conjuratiōem* depends upon *ante oculos posuit*.—*bonaque...pronuntiatum*, "and that it had been proclaimed that their property," &c.

6. *integram*, i. e. *saniozem plebis partem*.

XXV. 2. a. *Quid enim fecisse...quid facere potuisse?* "What had Hieronymus done, what could he have done?"

b. *sub aliena invidia*, "while another (sc. Hieronymus) bore the odium of their rule."

3. a. *hereditatem regni creverit*, "resolved to take the succession to the kingdom." After the death of a testator, a time (*cretio*) was allowed for the person named as heir to determine (*cernere*) whether he would accept (*adire*) the inheritance.

3. b. *alteri...nuptas*. The daughter of Hiero (Damarata) was married to Andranodorus,—the daughter of Gelo (Harmonia) to Themistus.

XXVI. 2. a. *venire*, sc. *a prætōribus missos*.

b. *nunc*. There is nothing to answer to this word, unless it be *tum* in § 6, but the sentence is probably imperfect.

3. *si Andranodoro...serviendum*: "if Andranodorus had

prospered in his plans, she (her sister Damarata) would have reigned with her husband, whilst for herself, she (Heraclea) would have had to remain a subject like the rest."

6. *casae ne tempus tereretur*. Some connect these words with *aversis auribus animisque*, but it seems much more suitable (especially with the parenthetic *ferrum...cernebat*) to connect them with *tum omissis pro se precibus...institit*.

XXVII. 1. *nec opinantibus omnibus*, "without any expecting it."

3. *trahendam rem esse*. Some word, such as *censere*, may be understood, or supplied from *dissimulare*.

5. a. *Murgantiam*. Murgantia was a town on the Symæthus, and, according to Livy, on the coast. This description, however, is said to be at variance with the notices of other writers. When Syracuse was besieged, Murgantia was held by a Roman garrison, but it was afterwards betrayed to Himilco, and occupied by Hippocrates, who was watching the siege. It was recovered by the Romans, but revolted again after the departure of Marcellus from Sicily, B.C. 211. Having been retaken by M. Cornelius the prætor, it was assigned to a body of Spaniards who had deserted to the Romans.

b. *quonam evaderent...opperiens*, "waiting to see what would come of," &c.

9. a. *aliæ partis*, i.e. the Roman, not that of Hippocrates and Epicydes.

b. *ingens in speciem...fides*, "a great appearance of credibility was given to allegations which were really groundless."

XXVIII. 2. *cupiditatis*, "selfishness," "interested motives."—*studii*, "party-spirit."



8. *duces ordinum*, "centurions."

4. *cum eis*, either i.e. *cum Romanorum legatis*, which must be supplied from *Romanis* in the preceding line, or the words *cum eis* are out of their proper place, and we should read, *ad rem cum eis confirmandam*.

XXIX. 2. *illis*, referring to *missis*, *hi* to *mittentibus*. The general rule is that of two things or persons, *hic* is generally referred to the last mentioned, *ille* to the more remote. But, in Livy especially, *hic* is frequently referred, not to the last-named, but to that which is nearer in the nature of the thing. See Bk. xxii. ch. xxxix.

4. *stationem*, "picquet," or "post."

6. a. *eas*, the Syracusans.

b. *eximendum id*. *Id*, the condition mentioned above, *ut quicumque populi...ditionis essent*.

7. *sese...se*. The Leontini.

8. a. *integro secum foedere*, "without setting aside the treaty with them."—*secum*, the Syracusans.—*cum iis*, the Leontines.

b. *sese...sua* refer to the Syracusans.

XXX. 2. *Herbessum*. Herbessus was on the confines of Leontini and Syracuse. It at first sided with Carthage, but was soon recovered by Marcellus (ch. xxxv.), and was of no further importance, that we hear of, in the war.

3. a. *captam urbem*. Leontini.

b. *donata*, sc. *militibus*.

10. a. *sub eis*, i.e. under Hippocrates and Epicydes.

b. *Iiannibalis beneficium habebant*, "were under an obligation to Hannibal."

XXXI. 2. a. *Hippocraten atque Epicyden*: supply *causas esse moræ*.

b. *miscendi eos*; *eos* refers to Hippocrates and Epicydes.

5. *recte cum atque ordine fecisse*. This was the usual form in which the senate expressed their approval of an officer's conduct.

7. *et quum ipsos...conciliarent*: "And that having these men, at once trustworthy soldiers and hostages, they might also win over their relations and friends, at first by the consideration of so great a service performed, and afterwards by holding such a pledge in their hands."

XXXII. 2. *haud vani*, "not over credulous," "not lightly moved by reports."

4. *ad militare genus*. *Ad* = *apud*.

11. *ad pileum vocati*. See above, ch. xvi.

XXXIII. 2. a. *relicta erant*, "allowed to remain."

b. *ad Olympium*. This temple was about a mile and a-half to the south-west of the city, on high ground, overlooking the marshes, which extended from its base almost to the city wall. The Anapus, joined by the small stream of the Cyane almost immediately below the temple, flows through these marshes into the great harbour. The Olympieum, in a military point of view, was a very important post. Here Marcellus established and maintained his camp, though his chief attacks were directed against the northern side of the city, near the Hexapylum.

5. *quum in eorum...reverterentur*: "when Syracuse was in the hands of those to whom they had come, then they might return."—*eorum*, i. e. the prætors.

6. *legatis relictis*, "turning his back upon the envoys."

8. *invasuros*, "penetrate."

XXXIV. 4. *quorum telum ad remittendum inhabile imperitis est*, "whose weapon is unhandy for throwing back, to those who are not skilled in its use." The weapon in question was a dart about three feet long, and an inch in

thickness. It had an iron head a span long, and so thin and pointed as to be bent by striking against anything, and so rendered unfit to be thrown back upon the enemy. But if it was the fact of its being bent which rendered this weapon unserviceable, it would be no less useless in skilful than in unskilful hands. To obviate this objection, it has been proposed to read *impeditis*. But it is not unlikely that two meanings are condensed into the sentence, and that Livy really meant that the weapon was one which could only be used by skilful hands, and (from its slender form and make) became unserviceable after having been once discharged.

5. *interioribus remis*, "the oars on the inner side."

7. a. *caveis*, "loopholes." — *cubitalibus fere*, "about a foot and a-half long."

b. *scorpionibus modicis*, "small crossbows."

8. a. *interiores ictibus*, "inside the range of the blows," too close in to be struck by the *tormenta*.

b. *in eas...acciperet*, "against these, when, by means of a swipe hanging out over the wall, an iron grapple fastened to a strong chain had been cast upon the prow, and when by means of a heavy counterpoise of lead it (i. e. the end of the *tolleno* within the wall) fell back to the ground, the prow having been raised up, it (i. e. the grapple) set the ship on end; then having been suddenly disengaged, it dashed the vessel, falling as it were from the wall, to the great consternation of the crew, against the water in such a way that, even though it righted itself in falling, it took in a great quantity of water." The reading *recelleret* makes the text somewhat difficult; the ordinary text has "*gravi libramento plumbi recellente ad solum*."

10. *eodem, sc. modo*.

XXXV. 2. a. *Heracleam, quam vocant Minoam*. This

double name arises from two legends, one of which ascribes the origin of the city to Hercules, the other to Minos. The more ancient name was probably Minoa, and the name of Heraclea may have been given by Euryleon, the only survivor of the chiefs who followed Dorieus, when he led his colony to Sicily to recover the territory of his ancestor Hercules. (See Herod. v. 46.) The town was situated on the south coast, between Agrigentum and Selinus.

b. *nequaquam cum quantis...classem*, "with forces greater than those had been with which he had previously kept his fleet at Pachynum."

5. *Acrillas*. The exact site of Acrillæ is not known; it is not the same as Acræ (ch. xxxvi.), though not far from it; it was not very far from Syracuse, and on the direct road from Syracuse to Agrigentum.

6. a. *occupato*: by Himilco. See above, § 4.

b. *nihil minus ratus*, "expecting nothing so little as that," &c.; "thinking of anything rather than that," &c.

c. *ut quibus...par esset*, "thinking himself by no means a match for them with the forces which he had."

XXXVI. 3. *classis*: genitive. Fifty-five ships of the fleet of the Carthaginians. Another reading supplies *præfecto* after *classis*.

4. *mediterraneo itinere*, "by an inland route."—*maritimis locis*, "along the coast."

5. *simul...sociorum*, "at the same time seeing that, by his uselessly staying among them the distress of his allies was only aggravated by his men."—*nihil aliud...quam*: see Bk. xxiii. ch. iii.

XXXVII. 2. a. *Henna*. This place, called by Cicero the *umbilicus Siciliae*, is situated on a very high and pre-

cipitous hill, as nearly as possible in the very centre of Sicily. It is said to be one of the most remarkable natural fortresses in the world. In the first Punic war, it was taken by Hamilcar, and retaken by the Romans, but in both cases by treachery. In this war we only hear of it as the scene of the massacre ordered by Pinarius; the modern name is Castro Giovanni.

b. *opportunum insidiantibus*: see Bk. xxiii. ch. i. § 7.

3. *et qui...reponeret*, "a man who relied more on treachery being impracticable, than on the good faith of the Sicels."

6. a. *nece liberorum*. The case of T. Manlius Torquatus is perhaps alluded to, who tells his son, "*mor-te tua san-cienda sunt consulatū imperia*." Bk. viii. ch. vii.

b. *cujus juris et arbitrii esset*, "to whose jurisdiction and decision the matter belonged."—*esset*, *res* may be supplied, or perhaps *ipse*.

7. *se vero negare illi missuros*. The order is, "*illi vero negare* (infln. of narration) *se missuros*."

9. *consensum...consilium*, "a meeting was agreed upon;" so *bellum erat consensum*, Bk. i. ch. xxxii.

XXXVIII. 1. *per hos dies*, "of late."

3. *hæc occulta in fraude cautio est, qua usi adhuc sumus*, "the precaution which we have hitherto used is calculated for cases of secret treachery."

9. *Ceres mater ac Proserpina*. Henna was a sacred place by tradition, for it was from the meadow-banks of a lake hard by among the hills, that Proserpine was carried off by Pluto.

XXXIX. 2. a. *et primo sensim...juberent*; "and at first gently, and (then) in greater numbers, and at last all with one outcry ordered him to give up the keys."

b. *aversam*. The soldiers entered the building from behind; the people fronted the Roman commander, and had their backs turned to the soldiers as they entered. See above, ch. iii. § 5.

XL. 2. *flumine*. The Aous.

4. *et quod...impositis*. The construction is, "et militibus (quod militum longæ naves non poterant capere) impositis in onerarias (naves)." *Militibus* may be understood from *militum*.

XLI. 2. *Castrum Album*. The exact site is not known; but it was in a great battle with the Vettones that Hamilcar fell (B.C. 229), and they were a people in the west of Spain, between the Tagus and the Guadiana.

4. *trans fluvium*: the Iberus.

6. *uxor*: her name was Himilce.

XLII. 1. *Ad Mundam*. The exact site is not known; it was a town of Hispania Bætica, probably near Cordova. Munda was very famous in after times for the victory of Cæsar over the sons of Pompey, B.C. 45.

5. *Ad Auringem*. Aurinx, or Oringes, was a city in the south of Spain, not very far from Munda.

7. a. *gens nata*, &c., i.e. the Barcine family, of which in Spain were Hasdrubal and Mago.

b. *alii plerique...pugnare*; "different soldiers for the most part, (yet) since they were on a side so often beaten within a few days, they fought with the same spirit and with the same issue as those in the previous battles," —*iisdem animis*, i.e. with no better spirit.

10. *octavum annum*. Livy makes a mistake; reckoning inclusively from the year in which Saguntum was taken,

i. e. B.C. 219, the Carthaginians could only have held it six years.

11. *Turdetanos*; see Bk. xxi. ch. vi. § 1.

XLIII. 2. *ensoribus*; see ch. xi. § 2.

3. *Quæstorem eum*; see ch. xviii. § 2.—*proximo anno* = *superiore anno*.—*ærarium*; see ch. xviii. § 4.

8. *Ludos scenicos*. *Ludi funebres* are mentioned Bk. xxiii. ch. xxx. Livy assigns an earlier date than others to the introduction of scenic games. According to Valerius Antias (see Dict. of Antiq., p. 749), they were first held at Rome at the Megalesia in B.C. 193.

XLIV. 1. a. *ex binæ erant legiones*, "these consisted of two legions each."

b. *M. Æmilius ...haberet*, i. e. *mandatum ut M. Æmilius haberet*, &c. *Mandatum ut* must be supplied from the preceding sentence.

2. *provincia vetus*. Sicily, west of the Himera.

4. *supplemento in alias lecto*, "men having been selected to fill up the rest to their full strength."

6. *ludibria*, "illusions."

8. *præter undecim fascēs*, "past eleven of the lictors."—*proximum*, the lictor next in advance of the consul, the twelfth.

XLV. 2. a. *turpius videatur novam referre proditiōem proditiis olim*: "more basely still, seemed to be offering to those whom he had betrayed before, a new act of treachery by way of indemnification." The construction runs, "qui ...descisset...tum videatur."

b. *ad Faleriorum...esse*: "such a man should be made a lesson for deserters, in addition to the betrayer of Falerii and of Pyrrhus."—*Faleriorum*; see Bk. v. ch. xxvii.—

*Pyrrhi*; the circumstance is mentioned in the Epilogue of Bk. xiiii. The traitor's name was Nicias.

3. a. *libera de quoque arbitria agere*, "decided on each thing without sufficient reference to the circumstances of the case." *Libera* has very much the same meaning here as ἀπλῶς.

b. *et qui...cogitent*. The *et* has no meaning here; if the text is correct, Livy may perhaps have intended to conclude the sentence with a second *et* instead of *autem*, as "*et documentum dicant statui oportere si quis*," &c. Transl.: "who, though their first object and thought should be to prevent, if possible, the allies from revolting, never think about that," &c.

4. *desiderata*, "longed for in vain." *Deserta* is more frequently read.

6. *missi*, sc. to Hannibal.

XLVI. 2. *a quingentis fere passibus*, "at the distance of half a mile off," i.e. from the town. "When the place from which the distance is reckoned is not specified, the prep. *a* or *ab* only often stands before the measure." Madv., § 234, obs.

XLVII. 12. *Atrinum*. No such place is to be found: other editions have *Aternum*.

13. a. *tenuit*: intrans., "continued." See Bk. xxiiii. ch. xlv. § 7.

b. *Salinas*, "saltworks."—*Portam Carmentalem*. This gate, commanding the Via Lata, or Flaminia, was at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, between it and the Tiber. It received its name from the neighbouring temple and altars of the nymph Carmenta, or Carmentis.

c. *cum Æquimalio*. The Æquimælium was on the Vicus



Jugarius (see next note), and served as a market-place. It is said (see Bk. iv. ch. xvi.) to have derived its name from occupying the site of the house of Sp. Mælius, which had been razed.

d. *Jugarioque vice*. This street ran from the Porta Carmentalis round the base of the Capitoline to the Forum. See Bk. xxvii. ch. xxxvii. It is said to have derived its name from an altar which stood in it to Juno Juga, the Goddess of Wedlock. The word *vice* belongs to *Jugario* alone, not to *Æquimalis*.

e. *matris Matutæ*. *Matutæ* was a surname of Juno; Servius the king dedicated a temple to *Matutæ*, which was afterwards restored by Camillus. Bk. v. ch. xix.

XLVIII. 2. a. *Syphax*, called here *rex Numidarum*, was really only king of the westernmost tribe, the *Massæylii*. Being now at war with Carthage, he made a treaty with the Scipios, and by the help of Statorius having drilled and disciplined his army, was enabled to gain a victory. Their defeat caused the Carthaginians to recall Hasdrubal, and make an alliance with Gala, king of the *Massylians*, who sent his son Masinissa with an army to Hasdrubal's support. Syphax was defeated once and again, and obliged to sue for peace. In B.C. 210 he again formed alliance with Rome, but was shortly after gained over to Carthage by Hasdrubal, who gave him his daughter Sophonisba in marriage. Masinissa now became the friend, and Syphax the foe, of Rome, a change which finally resulted in the ruin of the latter. After several defeats he was at last taken prisoner and sent to Rome. He died, according to Livy, at Tibur, just in time to be saved the mortification of adorning the triumph of Scipio at the end of the war.

b. *et adnisuros, &c.* "And they would try to repay him with a timely and abundant return."—*ut cumulatam*

*gratiam referant.* See Virg. *Æn.* iv. 436: "Quam mihi cum dederis cumulatam morte remittam."

10. *ordinatosque...docuit*, "and he had them marshalled after the Roman fashion, and taught them by drill and exercise to follow," &c. *Instruendo* and *decurrendo* are both used passively; see Bk. xxiii. ch. xxxvii. § 3. *Decurriendo*—see Bk. xxiii. ch. xxxv.

11. *ad famam eorum*, "at the news of their arrival."



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